

REVIEW

SUNDAY, JULY 16, 1911

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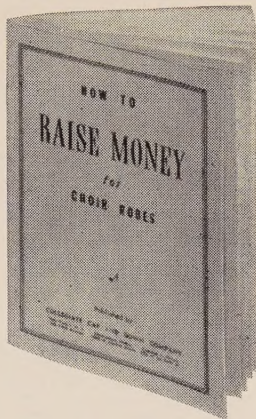
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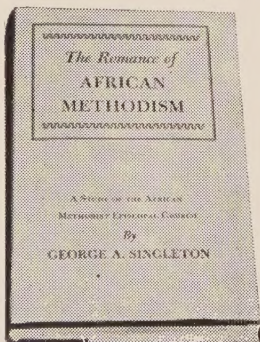
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THE REVIEW

5828 Race Street Philadelphia 39, Penna.

A. M. E. Church Review

The Religious Journal of the A. M. E. Church

Founded by Rev. B. T. Tanner, D.D., 1884

Entered as second-class matter, at the Post Office at Nashville, Tenn.

Published Quarterly at 414 8th Ave., S., Nashville 3, Tenn., by the
Board of Publication of The A. M. E. Church

—oOo—

Bishop E. C. Hatcher, President of the Board

—oOo—

George A. Singleton, Editor

5828 Race Street, Philadelphia 39, Penna.

Vol. LXXIV

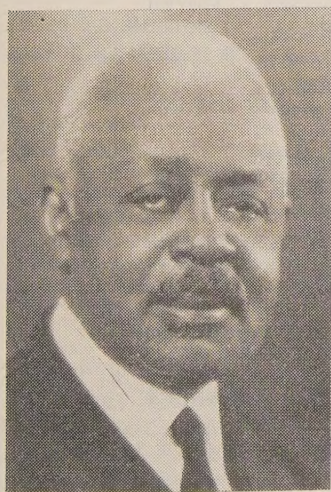
APRIL - JUNE, 1958

No. 196

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

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\$2.00 PER YEAR



ON THE COVER

Bishop R. R. Wright. April 16th was the eightieth birthday of the scholarly, brilliant Patriarch, and by age, Senior among the Bishops of the Church. His long, and useful life has been an inspiration to countless African Methodists the world over. His definition of education lingers in the mind of the Editor of the REVIEW: "It consists in the ability of a man to deliver the goods."

The literary contribution of Bishop Wright places him upon a lofty pedestal. He is indeed solitary and without compare. The mantle of Daniel Alexander Payne, Benjamin Tucker Tanner, Benjamin William Arnett, and Henry McNeal Turner fell upon his shoulders. With humble dignity he has worn it. In his writings he has achieved immortality, and long after he shall have left the area of humanity, his books will be read by many who are yet within the womb of the future.

One of the most impressive qualities of Bishop Wright is his coherent thinking and courage of his convictions. It is quite obvious that God has prolonged his life to serve the Church in this day and generation. Like Athanasius at the Council of Nicea, Richard Robert Wright stands like a rock in the midst of a stormy sea. God bless him, Heaven preserve him.

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Editorial

BISHOP RICHARD ROBERT WRIGHT

He is the distinguished son of the late Major R. R. and Mrs. Lydia Elizabeth Howard-Wright, now deceased. Major Wright, the father, was President of the Georgia State Industrial College, Savannah, for twenty-five years, and was a Paymaster of the United States Volunteers in the Spanish-American War with the rank of Major.

Bishop Wright was born April 16th, 1878, at Cuthbert, Georgia, which makes him an octogenarian. He is one of nine children. At the age of six years he entered school and attended about eighteen years, including the graded schools of Augusta, Haines Institute, Augusta, Georgia State College, The University of Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania. He graduated from the Normal Department of the Georgia State College in 1895, receiving a gold medal for scholarship. The Bachelor of Arts degree was awarded him from the same institution in 1898, and Master of Arts in 1901. The degree of D. B. was given him in 1901 during the presidency of the lamented W. Rainey Harper. Three years later he received the degree of M. A. The University of Pennsylvania conferred the degree of Ph.D. upon him in 1911. In 1905-6 he was Research Fellow in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, and Special University Fellow in Sociology at University of Pennsylvania, 1906-8. During 1903-4 he studied in the University of Berlin, Germany, and in 1904 he was a student at the University of Leipsig, Germany.



The young scholar refused to receive the honorary degree of D. D. from Wilberforce University in 1914, because of his conviction that no man under forty years of age should receive an honorary degree. In February 1891 he was converted and joined Bethel African M. E. Church, Augusta, Georgia. Shortly thereafter he became an exhorter, and a Local Preacher. He served as a Sunday

School teacher, Secretary, and Assistant Superintendent of Sunday Schools, and President of the Allen Christian Endeavor League. His exhorter's license was signed and given by the late Reverend Dr. S. D. Roseborough, in 1898, and in 1908 he was licensed to preach the Gospel in 1899 at St. Phillip's, Savannah, Georgia, by the Reverend T. N. M. Smith. He joined the Iowa Annual Conference under the presidency of Bishop Benjamin William Arnett, September, 1890, at Bethel Church, Chicago, the Reverend Reverdy C. Ransom, Pastor; ordained to the Deaconite; September, 1900, at Minneapolis, Minnesota, by Bishop Abram Grant.

Across the years Dr. Wright held the following appointments: Assistant Pastor of the Institutional Church, Chicago, 1900-1; instructor of Hebrew and New Testament Greek in Payne Theological Seminary 1901-1903; on leave of absence to study in Germany, 1903-04; Elgin, Illinois, 1904; Trinity, Chicago, 1904-05; in the University of Pennsylvania, 1905-1908; Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, 1908; Editor of the Christian Recorder, 1909-1936. He was a member of the General Conference which met at Kansas City in 1912. From February 1912, while Editor of the Christian Recorder he was Business Manager of the Book Concern, succeeding both Dr. H. T. Johnson, Editor deceased, and J. H. Collett, Manager. In 1912 he was re-elected without opposition at the Centennial General Conference of 1916, which was held at Mother Bethel, Philadelphia, where the Connection was organized by the immortal Richard Allen in 1816.

Dr. Wright married Miss Charlotte Crogman, daughter of Dr. W. H. Crogman, then President of Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia, in 1909. They are the proud parents of one son, R. R. Wright III, a banker in Los Angeles, California, and three daughters: Mrs. Grace Kyle, wife of the Reverend Dr. D. V. Kyle, Miss Alberta Wright, and Ruth Hayre, Ph.D. (The University of Pennsylvania), from which her father received his doctorate. In July, 1911 when the Book Concern was to be sold by the sheriff for a \$5,000 judgment Dr. Wright purchased it for the Church with his personal funds the amount was \$1,900. In 1916 he purchased a permanent home for St. John Mission, Philadelphia, for more than \$2,000 cash. He founded what is now Jones Tabernacle, now with a membership of over two thousand.

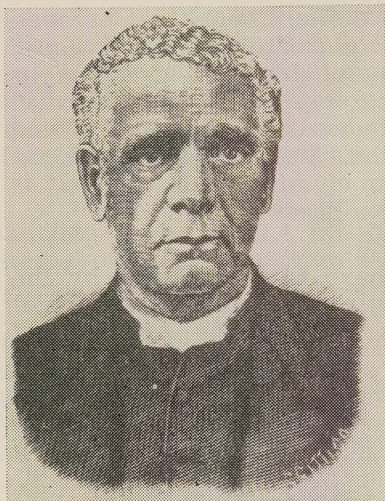
A position as instructor in Sociology at Howard University, with a salary of \$1,500 a year was declined. Dr. Wright is the founder of the Eighth Ward Settlement Building and Loan Association, and served as President; was a member of the board of managers of Association for Protection of Colored Women, Spring Street Social Settlement, member of board of directors of Work for Colored

Churches, under the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Abolition Society, Mercy Hospital, now Mercy-Douglas, member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Sigma Pi Phi Alpha Boule, American Negro Academy; the National Council, the World Council, and the Fraternal Council of Churches, and the N.A.A.C.P. He is author of "The Negro in Pennsylvania," "The Negro Problem," "The Teaching of Jesus," and numerous other publications. Perhaps his *magnus opus* is his "Encyclopedia" of African Methodism. The first volume was published in 1916, and is an invaluable storehouse of information. The second is the largest book ever published by an American of African descent. It is monumental. These volumes will meet a great need.

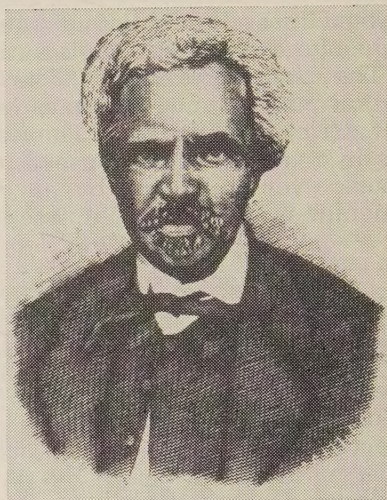
Dr. Wright's sociological studies have been published by the United States Bureau of Labor, Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics, Pittsburgh Survey, Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Southern Workmen, Star Center, Inter-Municipal Review, publications of the Southern Sociological Society. He is a contributor to the A. M. E. Review, religious and secular press. He has lectured at Howard University, Wilberforce, Georgia State College, Morris Brown University, and Allen University, Campbell College, A. and M. College, (Mississippi), Lincoln, Missouri, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C., and the University of Pennsylvania.

In 1936 the New York General Conference elected Dr. Wright a Bishop in the African M. E. Church. He has served in the Sixth, Eighth Episcopal Districts and South Africa. He is currently presiding over the Fifth District. Recently Bishop Wright went by airplane to South Africa to share in the Diamond Jubilee celebration of the founding of African Methodism in the southern area of the fatherland. Under the new Budget Financial System he is the second President of the Council of Bishops, and second in seniority among the Bishops. Though fourscore years of age his mind is clear, youthful and active. His profound scholarship is an inspiration. He thinks with logicity. The Bishop is the incarnation of humility, kindness, and sympathy; yet he is withal courageous, bold, and persevering for the Church. The unborn generations of the future shall view him in the long perspective of time, and accord Bishop Wright his undisputed place in history of the Church, nation, and world. A few months ago the former President of Wilberforce University, President and Director of the Citizens Bank and Trust Company, founded by his sainted father, resigned from his offices, and devotes all of his time to the work of the Church and the Kingdom of God. A Christian gentleman is he, with high directed thoughts and seated in the heart of courtesy.

AUGUSTUS THOMAS CARR, PIONEER SOUTH CAROLINA CHURCHMAN



REV. AUGUSTUS T. CARR, One of the Pioneers of the A. M. E. Church in South Carolina, Presiding Elder, Edisto Dist. S. C. Conference, died 1882.



REV. SIMON MILLER, One of the Pioneer Preachers of the Up-Country.

The annals of the story of the beginning of African Methodism in South Carolina will be incomplete without giving large place to the contribution of Augustus T. Carr, a misted and forgotten hero-pioneer in the days of Reconstruction. He was from Charleston, South Carolina, and was born during the days of American slavery. His life embraced both the ante and post bellum period. The smoke of the battles of the Rebellion War had cleared away from many a gory field of carnage, and where bondage was,—liberty. In 1866 after Robert E. Lee had surrendered to U. S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, following William Tecumseh's triumphant march from Atlanta to the sea, and up through the Carolinas from Savannah, Daniel A. Payne returned to Charleston, and organized the South Carolina Annual Conference, the mother of African Methodism in the South. At the Conference of 1866 which met at Savannah, Georgia, on Hull Street, where James Lynch, and Anthony L. Stanford had reared an imperishable monument of time-defying proportions, Carr was presented by Presiding Elder Richard Harvey Cain for Admission. In the class were jewels whose names shall forever be recorded upon the pages of history: James Johnson, J. Guillard, Andrew Boston, Oesop Smith, Caesar Small, Thomas

Evans, Moses Campbell, and William Bull. Some of the fathers who were present our youthful eyes beheld years ago: Henry McNeil Turner, Bruce H. Williams, stately, dignified, tall, and later a state Senator, and Uncle Henry Jones, founder of Bethel, Conway, then call 'Conwayboro',—home Church of boyhood.

Carr was one of the eminent trail-blazing campaigners for Christ, and African Methodism in the state. He endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ in lifting high the banner of the cross to his people recently out of the house of bondage. By 1869, just three years after his admission into the Conference he was made a Presiding Elder of the Georgetown District, the area of which was large. Transportation was then by steamboat, trains drawn by wood-burning engines, horse-back, and mule-back, ox carts, road carts and buggies. Oft'times the preachers traveled afoot. In sunshine, and rain; sleet, and snow they kept a-going. In wintry weather they kept their feet warm by lighted lanterns in the foot of their buggies, covered with laprobes. Through swamps, savannahs, along muddy, deep rutted roads Carr rode his District to the glory of God, and the advancement of the Church. He was a delegate to the General Conference in 1872, which met at St. Paul African M. E. Church, Nashville, Tennessee, the Church founded by Jordan Winston Early, and was present at the opening service when William Paul Quinn lined the old hymn, so dear to his glorious heart:

"Come let us use the grace divine,
And all with one accord,
In a perpetual cov'nant join,
Ourselves to Christ the Lord."

"Give up ourselves through Jesus
His Name to glorify;
And promise in this sacred hour,
For God to live and die."

His ears heard Daniel Alexander Payne read the Scripture from Corinthians I, 13th chapter. As he knelt upon knees which had carried the weight of slavery's burdens his soul was lifted by the prayers of Jabez P. Campbell, John M. Brown, and James A. Shorter. The impression made by Alexander Washington Wayman when he delivered the Quadrennial Sermon from Acts 26:22, and Psalm 126:16 was deep and most lasting. He served on several committees, including the Book Concern, and a Special Committee to request the United States Congress to reimburse Israel Memorial, now Metropolitan Church, Washington, for damage done the Church site, location and basement by an extension of the Capitol building.

In the year 1872 when he went to the General Conference he

was the successful Pastor of Emanuel, Charleston and was instrumental in bringing several members into the church. 1874-1876 he was the Pastor of Morris Brown, named for the second Bishop in the Church, which back in the days of the Denmark Vesey Uprising had several thousands of members. In 1873, February 1st the Ninth Session of the South Carolina Conference met at Georgetown, presided over by Jabez P. Campbell, assisted by John M. Brown. Carr and Cain offered the prayers at the opening service. He was a member of the Third and Fourth Years' Committees, the Committee on Publication of the Minutes, and the Committee on Rail Roads and Steam Boats. John M. Brown introduced Campbell as his successor. At the conclusion Carr in a most impressive manner made a motion of thanks. Later when called upon to speak he responded "in a neat little speech." In the Conference he assisted the Bishop by presiding, and delivering an address on Missions. In 1873 he was Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. At this time the Conference embraced all of the state of South Carolina, as earlier it included all of the two Carolinas and Georgia. The work had grown to a point where a division of territory was necessary; hence in 1875 a Committee on Division was named and Carr was appointed a member. One by the name of Abram Weston was seen by the writer when a mere child, for he had been appointed to Bethel, Conway, and upon arrival found lodging beneath the hospitable roof of G. C. and L. Z. Singleton. The hands and fingers which type these lines served the venerable Reverend Weston by cutting wood, taking it into his room; making the fire to keep him warm, filling the lamp with kerosene oil, trimming the wick, cleaning the chimney with old newspaper in order that he might have light in his room; bringing water for satisfying his thirst and ablution. The long, grey beard of the man who was Carr's friend can be seen now by the mind's eye, as he stood by the white porcelain, china basin which rested upon the top of a four-legged unpainted stool, while the old grey cat warmed its back upon the hearth and before a fire of lightwood and oak logs upon the bricks. Those halcyon days John E. Thomas.

The work was divided, and the Columbia Conference met in 1877 at Bethel, Columbia. Carr was present as Presiding Elder of the Charleston District. The First Session after the division was held at Newberry. Thomas H. "Pap" Jackson of Payne Seminary fame was then Pastor of Bethel, Columbia. In 1878 Carr was continued as Presiding Elder of the Charleston District and the Conference convened at Georgetown on Winyah Bay. St. John, Marion, South Carolina was the seat of the Annual Conference of 1880. T. M. D. Ward was the President and presiding Bishop, assisted by John Mifflin Brown. Carr was then a trustee of Payne Institute at Cokesbury, the first educational venture and enterprise in the

state upon a statewide scale. At that time there was a school in nearly every church and Presiding Elder District. Day schools were held during the week days and religious services on Sundays. Especially was this true of Bethel, Conway.

Carr was a delegate to the General Conference of 1880 which met at St. Louis, Missouri, the scene of the labors of William Paul Quinn and Jordan W. Early, Ezekiel Pines and Priscilla Baltimore. He led the delegation from South Carolina with such men as W. E. Johnson, M. B. Saulsters, R. H. Cain, J. E. Haynes, Bruce H. Williams, B. F. Porter, and Paul W. Jefferson. Paul's brother, Silas was an alternate. The other alternates were N. B. Sterrett, A. Powell, S. Washington, George R. Harris, J. S. Everett, James F. Dart, and N. Richardson. The eyes of youth beheld the patriarchal Haynes. Likewise the saintly Benjamin Franklin Lee of the Ohio Conference, Editor of the Christian Recorder, and onetime President of Wilberforce University; the dignified and scholarly Wm. D. Johnson, Secretary of Education, alumnus of Lincoln in Pennsylvania, and a Georgian by birth. In this delegation was also the Reverend Montgomery M. Mance, grandfather of R. W. Mance, M.D., Treasurer of the African M. E. Church, currently. Reverend Mance represented the Columbia Conference. When the first ballot was taken for Bishops, the Reverend Carr was the third highest with 49 votes. H. M. Turner had 135, and W. F. Dickerson 80. Four ballots were taken and Carr was on each. This is indicative of the high esteem in which he was held and recognized as a Connectional figure.

In 1882 he was still Presiding Elder of the Edisto District. W. F. Dickerson was the presiding Bishop. S. F. Flegler, first Missionary to Liberia was a member, and P. C. Lee, who baptized the writer December 6th in infancy, at the age of six months.

Rich, fruitful, and productive was the life and works of Augustus Thomas Carr. Back in 1867, just after he entered the Conference he accompanied Bishop Alexander W. Wayman to Philadelphia to hold the Conference there at the birthplace of African Methodism. At the conclusion he journeyed with him to Macon, Ga., where on May 30th he organized the Georgia Annual Conference. He was a Fraternal Delegate in 1876 to the C. M. E. General Conference, and was a Delegate to the Ecumenical Methodist Conference in London along with Bishops Daniel A. Payne, John M. Brown, James A. Shorter, and William F. Dickerson; Reverends James M. Townsend, J. C. Embry, Mr. Alexander Clark, and the beloved teacher, the lamented Professor Joseph W. Morris. April 17th, 1878 is an eventful date, because on that day in Morris Brown Church, Charleston, Augustus Thomas Carr and Bishop John M. Brown organized a Liberian Mission, for persons bent upon leaving the Uni-

ted States for the homeland in West Africa. S. F. Flegler was appointed Pastor.

The Columbia Conference convened December 7, 1881 at Winnsboro. Carr, the Presiding Elder of the EDISTO District was present, and offered the prayer at the opening service. He made a report of his trip abroad. "In closing his remarks, with great power, he depicted the necessity of education; and taking a retrospective view he spoke of Luther throwing off Catholicism, a Wesley throwing off Ritualism, and Allen throwing off Proscription, to complete the work of African Methodism." Upon the second day he lined the hymn: "How shall my heart rejoice." At this Conference William David Chappelle was admitted.

It is noteworthy in the career of Carr that he was very active in the organization of Allen University. The institution was merged with the Payne Institute at Cokesbury and located at Columbia. He was a member of the committee which arranged for the original charter and was elected by the Columbia Conference which met at Spartanburg as one of the first trustees. Another notable achievement was his dedication of Miller Chapel to Newberry. The church was founded by Reverend Simon Miller, and the epochal service was held October 25th, 1874. No reflection was cast upon the illustrious founder by naming it "Greater Miller Chapel," No 'greater' servants of the Lord or pastors of churches ever walked the earth than Augustus Carr and Simon Miller. The church stands today in the city of Newberry near the Southern Railroad.

When the Columbia Conference convened December 2, 1882 at Spartanburg the name of Augustus Thomas Carr was listed by the Committee on Memoirs as among those who had joined the ranks of the immortal, beyond the frontiers of time and space. He fell in his pulpit at Walterboro. A veritable spiritual giant in the cause of the Lord came to the end of his Gospel trail, with his garments worn, and dusty. His earthly house was garnitured with holiness, and he entered his multiple-mansioned home above. The General Conference of 1884 which met at Baltimore, Maryland, in Bethel Church on Saratoga Street took due notice of the demise and chronicled it in the journal. Thus the earthly career of a valiant, courageous, faithful and devoted servant, slave of the Master, ended. He is one of the forgotten jewels of African Methodism, and campaigner for Jesus Christ, whose contribution to the cause of the Kingdom of God is time-defying, and eternal. Carr, thou shouldest be living at this hour. Thy Church hath need of thee.

And dedicated to the memory of the late E. Philip Ellis, strong singer of the old hymns of the Church, onetime Pastor of Miller

Chapel, Newberry, the Church which was dedicated by Carr, and who ended his own Gospel journey in Charleston, South Carolina, and his articles to The Palmetto Leader, and the Church press, under the caption: "The Old Grey," which were always closed: "Let us advance on our knees.

THE WING FAMILY

One of the most prominent families in African Methodism was headed by J. Wesley Wing of Maryland in the early period of the Church. While a member of Ebenezer in Baltimore during the pastorate of James A. Handy he was made a Class Leader. Presiding Elder J. H. A. Johnson appointed him to Crisfield, where he organized a mission. It grew to ten members, and he paid it out of debt. He had the mission incorporated. The next Church which he organized was on Mosher Street between Argyle and Myrtle. There he was ably assisted by Alexander Washington Wayman, but was removed because he was a Local Preacher. The fathers were sticklers for keeping the law. After a period of inactivity Brother Wing was sent to Fruitland, Durham Street, Mt. Pleasant, Charlotte Hall, and Tee Bee. It is interesting to note that he never was a slave.

George Oliver Wing, son of Wesley, was born February 11, 1884, the year in which the General Conference met at Baltimore. He had a brother and a sister. George was educated in his home town, and Morgan College. Upon his graduation he matriculated at Wilberforce University, and from Payne Theological Seminary he received the degree of "B. D." In 1905 his ministry began in the Baltimore Conference. On June 22, 1907 he was ordained a Deacon, and sent to Gross Mission in Calvert County. He served one year. Bishop Levi J. Coppin ordained him an Elder and sent him to West River Circuit. Perhaps his most outstanding pastorate was Brown Memorial, Washington, D. C.

In April, 1910 the Reverend George Wesley Wing was married to Viola Beatrice Tilghman, a musician and school teacher. She was a member of Bethel on Druid Hill, the mother of African Methodism in the state, then pastored by the immortal William Sampson Brooks, who raised the largest sum of money in a single rally up to that time in the history of the Connection, paid Bethel out of debt, and was elected a Bishop in 1920 at St. Louis, Missouri. The Wings became the parents of six children. The mother passed into the land of eternal day June 10th, 1955, leaving the children and three grand children.

Miss Wynonah became the wife of the Reverend Martin Luther Simmons, Pastor of St. Peter, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Like her

(Continued on Page 24)



TWO HAPPY, HANDSOME BLOEMFONTEIN BOYS

Two handsome, happy boy friends in Bloemfontein, capital of the Orange Free State, Suid-Afrika, South Africa. The beautiful post card picture was sent by the Reverend Dr. A. Chester Clark, Secretary of Missions, a few weeks ago while he was visiting the fatherland during the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of African Methodism over there. Incidentally Dr. Clark has visited more areas of missionary work than any of his predecessors in the history of the Church: West Africa, South Africa, South America, Canada, Bermuda, and the West Indies. Within less than a Quadrennium he has wrought well. Aside from his work as Secretary of Missions he has stood heroically for the Church.

The two lovely youngsters are typical of the teeming millions in the great land of our forefathers, the source of American slaves. No one will ever know the number who died and were killed under the system. Many gave up their lives rather than be captured. The crowded slave ships took a heavy toll. Some leaped overboard, were eaten by sharks, and were drowned in the Middle Passage. Neither will it ever be determined how many were beaten to death, sacrificed and murdered on the many plantations as cheap labor. These boys are the descendants of our African forebears who remained at home. They are relatives of their little cousins in America of African descent to-day.

What may these boys become? In this connection some think about Richard Allen, Frederick Douglass, Daniel Alexander Payne, Booker T. Washington, Henry McNeal Turner of other days. George Washington Carver, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Roland Hayes, Marian Anderson, and Jackie Robinson. The list lengthens indefinitely. What they need is education, economic aid, and freedom to become. They live in a land where studied efforts are constantly being made to keep them in ignorance, exploit them economically. Theirs is a land of diamonds, gold, iron, uranium, ivory, ebony, oil, rubber, manganese, cocoa, numerous minerals, and natural resources. Their fathers mine diamonds and gold for a bare pittance. Segregation is worse than it is in some of our American areas in the deep South, but the days of the oppressive system are numbered.

Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt, Ghana, and Nigeria are indeed prophetic of what Africa shall some day become. On April 15 top delegates from eight independent African states, with a population of 70 million met at Ghana at the call of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah in a nine day conference. There were representatives from Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and Egypt. Prime Minister Nkrumah urged a policy of neutrality in the contest

and 'Cold War' between the major powers of the world. The conference discussed the future of dependent African countries, the Algerian problem, and racial discrimination. "Africa is the last remaining stronghold of Colonialism," and it is on the way out. "We free, independent Africans have the responsibility to hasten the total liberation of Africa." Sudanese Foreign Minister Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoud said that "divided we are weak, and ineffective, but through our joint forces we people of Africa are capable of immense achievements."

No one knows the mental potential of these two boys. Given a chance they may be the Messiahs of the world, and save it from nuclear destruction, for brain knows no color bar. Princes have already come out of Egypt, even Jesus, the Son of man, and Africans are stretching forth their determined hands unto God.

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PERMANENT AND TRANSIENT ROOMS

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Reverend S. S. Morris, Jr., has published a revised and illustrated edition of his African Methodist Primer. The illustrations were prepared by Miss Frances E. Thompson, Professor of Art in the Tennessee A. and I. University, Nashville. The book meets a definite need in the Church. It is in its Third Edition, and authorized by the Division of Christian Education, and printed by the A. M. E. Sunday School Union.

The Reverend J. W. Fowler is the Invocator of the Kiwanis Club, Elgin, Illinois, of the Chicago Conference. He is pastor of the African M. E. Church in his city. When the Clergy Day was held a few weeks ago, he participated and offered the invocation. He is a veteran minister.

Communications from abroad have been recently received, bearing the signatures of Bishop and Mrs. Frederick D. Jordan, who spent the natal season of Jesus in Jerusalem, and Bethlehem; Bishop and Mrs. Francis H. Gow, Bloemfontein, South Africa, and Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, West Africa. Upon an invitation by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Prime Minister will visit the United States during the month of July.

From the office of Bishop E. C. Hatcher of the Third Episcopal District a complete booklet roll of the Presiding Elders, and ministers has been received. It includes addresses and telephone numbers of each and is equivalent to a Year Book.

Mr. Lorenzo Hayman, son of the Reverend Dr. and Mrs. O. J. Hayman, pastor of Allen African M. E. Church, Washington, D. C., and resides at Amityville, Long Island. He is Deputy Town Clerk. Mr. Hayman is an alumnus of Wilberforce and New York Universities with a major in political science.

The Reverend Dr. Gardner Taylor, pastor of Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, New York, has been elected President of the great Protestant Council of New York City. His Church has a membership of 10,200. Dr. Taylor is a Louisianian by birth and a product of Oberlin. He is a prominent minister and one of the foremost preachers of our time.

President Dahlberg of the National Council of Churches speaking on a non-military approach world peace told bi-partisan leaders in Washington, D. C., how the world can expect to believe in our peaceful intentions when forty-five billion dollars are appropriated

for a military budget, and only a few million dollars for non-military development and technical assistance, to heal the sick, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and "build up the broken-hearted."

A huge Royal Dutch transport has flown 57 sheep, 20 calves and five little pigs to Katamandu, Nepal, contributed by Heifer Project, Inc., these pure-bred animals will become an important part of the Point IV agricultural development program in that country.

According to a Political Memo from COPE unemployment this year in the United States has hit an all-time high. Nearly six million working people are out of jobs. The government is deeply concerned about the Recession. Many remember the time of the Hoover depression. Banks are insured now up to ten thousand dollars; hence savings are safe.

THE BETHEL BULLETIN is the official organ of Bethel African M. E. Church, 52 W. 132nd St., New York City, the Reverend Dr. Richard Allen Hildebrand, who holds two graduate degrees in theology from Boston University, is Pastor. To accommodate the large membership two Sunday morning services are held at seven, and eleven o'clock respectively.

The Reverend and Mrs. Andrew A. Hughey of St. Andrewes African M. E. Church observed their Twenty-fifth Anniversary, April 11th. The Reverend Melvin Chester Swann delivered the "Capping Address," Sunday evening, March 16 to the graduating class of Nurses of the North Carolina A. and T. College School of Nursing. He is pastor of St. Joseph, Durham.

Dr. Chas. S. Spivey, pastor of St. Stephen African M. E. Church, Detroit, Michigan, has led the church in building, and completing the St. Stephen Community House at a cost of over \$250,000. It was opened officially May 9-30. He is the author of "A Tribute to The Negro Preacher." An alumnus of Wilberforce, Payne Theological Seminary, Yale and the Episcopal Theological Seminary, and one-time Dean of Payne Theological Seminary.

The trustees of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania have voted to close the Theological Seminary because of the small number of students preparing for the ministry over against the cost of operation. This is a serious problem for Lincoln and poses a similar one for African Methodists.

The recently formed federation of the West Indies Islands is a step toward self-determination and independence. Both England, and the people are to be congratulated.

THE HISTORIAN'S EASY CHAIR

In the General Conference of 1864, which met at Philadelphia, Penna., the Reverend Joshua Woodlin made a motion that a Sunday School Union be organized. Passed. The committee appointed was S. Watts, L. Patterson, Aeneas McIntosh, W. A. Dove, John M. Brown, George A. Rue, and T. M. D. Ward. Four years later both Brown and Ward were elected Bishops.

Papers read at the 67th Session of the Philadelphia Annual Conference, May 9-15, 1883 were compiled and published in booklet form by "THE CHRISTIAN RECORDER PRINT," 631 Pine Street. B. T. Tanner was Editor of the Christian Recorder and Thomas Gould, Manager of the Book Concern. The papers were as follows: "Mental Science and Its Advantages," by Reverend John C. Brock; "Systematic Theology," by Reverend Charles E. Herbert; "Ethics," by Reverend B. F. Combosh, and "Church Polity," by Reverend M. F. Sluby. The Committee on Publication: Reverends B. T. Tanner, T. G. Stewart, and John A. Beckett.

Reverend Tanner was elected Editor of the African M. E. Church Review, the first, at the General Conference which met at Baltimore the next year. He wrote several books. T. G. Stewart was from Gouldtown which produced such outstanding churchmen as "Father" Gould, B. F. Lee, and Major Anderson. He was associated with Bishop Daniel A. Payne in the early organization of the Church in the South after the War of the Rebellion. He built Stewart Chapel, at Five Points in Macon, Georgia. He was a Chaplain in the U. S. Army and wrote many valuable books, including "Fifty Years in The Gospel Ministry," and "Gouldtown, A Very Remarkable Settlement of Ancient Date."

The Reverend W. P. Ross, one of five brothers, and the brother of the late Bishop Isaac Nelson Ross, was the founder of the Divinity High School, now Edward Waters College, Jacksonville, Florida.

Dr. Francis John Vanderhorst, retired, of Rahway, New Jersey, for a long time was a leader in the New Jersey Conference. He was born in Georgetown, South Carolina, a brother of the late Dr. E. J. Gregg, one time Pastor of Mt. Zion, Jacksonville, Florida, and Secretary of the A. C. E. League. He was related to the brilliant Editor of the Christian Recorder, Dr. H. T. Johnson. Dr. Vanderhorst has lost his physical eyesight, but his spiritual vision is undimmed and clear. A loving and devoted wife stands by his side.

The late Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of the Bethune-Cookman Institute, Daytona, Florida, was born a few miles from Mayesville, South Carolina, and for many years she was an African Methodist.

Montrose William Thornton resides at his Nashville, Tennessee home, an octogenarian of distinction. For several decades he was one of the most outstanding leaders of African Methodism and served several important charges including Charles Street, Boston, Massachusetts, where he handed the writer his first appointment as a student-pastor; Bethel, New York, and 'Mother Bethel', Philadelphia, where he completed the tomb of Richard Allen. He was Secretary to the late Bishop William B. Derrick, and was a member of the 1904 General Conference at Chicago, Illinois. In 1928 he received a large vote for the Episcopacy. Dr. Thornton is an alumnus of Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, the author of several books, and served once as Editor of the African M. E. Church Review.

The renown and scholarly W. E. B. DuBois celebrated his 90th Birthday on February 23. He resides at Brooklyn, New York, with his wife, Shirley, the daughter of the late Dr. D. A. Grahm, an African Methodist Preacher. The sage was one of the founders of the N. A. A. C. P., and for twenty years was Editor of *The Crisis*, its official magazine. He is an alumnus of Harvard, and his doctoral thesis was "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade." He has authored many books of high level quality and lasting value.

Raymond Witherspoon Whitehurst, P. E., resides at Marianna, Florida, near his birthplace, where he saw the light of day December 10, 1886. For a long time he was the efficient Accountant for the 11th Episcopal District. His contribution to Florida African Methodism has been rich. His only daughter, Keturah, holds a "Ph.D." degree and is a teacher at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

William S. Scarborough, one time President of Wilberforce University was born at Macon, Georgia, in 1854. He was an alumnus of Oberlin College, Ohio, where he majored in Semitic languages, and Hellenistic Greek. In 1881 he published through the A. S. Barnes Company, "First Lessons in Greek." This was the first Greek text-book published by a person of African Descent in the United States.

HISTORICAL REMINDER

Readers of the Congressional Record were given last week, a lesson in United States history with which we are sure most of them were unfamiliar, when Congressman Adam C. Powell of New

York had inserted in the Record a statement dealing with the deputation from the African Methodist Episcopal Church now visiting the Union of South Africa.

Powell called the leader of the deputation, the Rev. A. Chester Clark, secretary of missions an "effective exponent of democracy" for the United States Department of State and Nation's entire foreign policy.

Of much significance to the Congress was Congressman Powell's reminder that there was a time when the State of Mississippi was represented in the United States by an American of African descent—the Rev. Hiram Revels, an ordained A. M. E. clergyman.

No doubt this bit of Mississippi history is well known to the present Mississippi Senators. Their opposition to equal citizenship rights for their unrepresented Negro fellow Mississippians is perhaps motivated, to some extent, by the determination to see that this does not happen again.

Whether it happens again or not, only Time will tell—but either James O. Eastland or John C. Stennis, the present Senators, is occupying a seat in the U. S. Senate formerly filled by an American of color.

—*Philadelphia Tribune*

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Pentecost and The Church's Present Task

By J. ROBERT NELSON

The Rev. Dr. J. Robert Nelson assumed his duties a dean of the Vanderbilt Divinity School last September. At 37 he is one of the youngest deans in the nation. From 1952 to 1957 he was on the Geneva, Switzerland, staff of the World Council of Churches as secretary of the Faith and Order Commission. A Methodist minister who has served as World War II Marine Corps chaplain in the Far East and as a director of Methodist student work on three university campuses, he was educated at De Pauw, Yale Divinity School, and the University of Zurich (Doctor of Theology).



—Blackstone Studios, 54 West 57th St., New York

DR. J. ROBERT NELSON

It was nine o'clock on the morning of the festival day of Pentecost, and people suspected Jesus' disciples of being drunk. What else but inebriation could explain the strange behavior of the men who lately had followed the crucified rabbi? Hav-

ing lost their leader, they were drowning their sorrows in new wine! Thus they babbled like men possessed of spirits.

Not evil spirits, nor alcoholic spirits, but the Holy Spirit of Almighty God! So testified St. Peter, as he responded to the crowd's mockery. The long-remembered prediction of the prophet Joel, known to all Peter's hearers, was at last being fulfilled. The more recent prediction, known only to the disciples for two months, since Jesus had promised that God would send the Holy Spirit, was likewise being realized before their eyes. So also in the tongues of flame about the disciples' heads was fulfilled the word of John the Baptist, who had declared that the One coming after him would baptize in Spirit and fire. So also the dispersion and estrangement of sinful men, one from another and all from God, as retold from generation to generation in the story of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of languages, was now on Pentecost in Jerusalem brought to an end by the Christian Galileans who spoke the tongues of "every nation under heaven."

On this decisive day, long anticipated and always remembered, there came to dwell with men the Spirit of the living God. He was the very Spirit who had brooded over the chaos at creation, who had spoken by the prophets, who had empowered Jesus the Christ to live His unique and redemptive life. Henceforth mankind could never be the

same as before. The task of the disciples, and of all Christian people in succeeding ages, was to tell other men and women why this day of Pentecost was an irrevocable turning point in man's history.

Pentecost is often observed as the "birthday" of the Church. This is only partly true to say. The Church did not *begin* then. God had called His own people centuries before. The Son of God redeeming God's People, had chosen His community's nucleus some months before. So the Church was in embryo until its true birth on Pentecost. Or, as some would prefer to say, until the Church was born and baptized on that day. From that day on, the Church drew its "breath" and was constantly "inspired" by the divine Spirit, who, like the wind in Jesus' analogy, could blow where He will-ed.

From that day on, men and women, who like all creatures had been "born of the flesh," were enabled by God to be "born of the Spirit." It was the Spirit who enabled persons to speak the Gospel of Christ, and He again gave power to the hearers and converts to make that all-important confession of faith, "Jesus is Lord." The Spirit incorporated the believers into Christ's continuing life through the act of Baptism. Unto them the Spirit gave His gifts for their personal well-being and for the upbuilding of their communal life. Henceforth the "fruit" of the Spirit's work was discerned in the love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control of the lives of Christian people.

The Spirit constantly helped them

in their weaknesses; and when they struggled to find the elusive word of prayer, He already was interceding for them. To those who had been divided from one another, as natural men are, the Spirit gave a new unity to be maintained in the bond of peace. To those who had been without hope and without God in the world, the Spirit granted a hope for the fulfilment of righteousness in Christ's Kingdom. And the life-giving Spirit, by whose power Jesus Himself had been raised from the death, exerted the same power to give eternal life to all who believed.

As a special day of celebration and worship, Pentecost has been exceeded only by Easter in the esteem and practice of the majority of Christians through the centuries. This is a preference which is readily understood when we read of the work of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament and reflect upon the indispensability of His presence in the Church today. It is only by the Spirit's power that the Gospel is preached and believed. Only when He is present and effective in a congregation of Christians does the true and distinctive life of the Church become manifest through the scaffolding of ecclesiastical organization and the ornamentation of much so-called "religious activity." Through the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit in our hearts and minds do the words of the Holy Bible become not only passages of literary beauty and counsels of moral guidance, but assurance of personal salvation based upon God's power and love. Without the Holy Spirit the Church dies. Without the Spirit in

the Church, our individual lives fall away from the sustaining grace of God.

In view of the eminence of the Holy Spirit of God and the inestimable import of His having been given to the Church at Pentecost in the year of Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection, it is difficult to understand why Christian churches have allowed the day to fall into misuse or disuse. In many European countries today, the week-end of Whitsun or Pentecost, coming at the end of spring, is a time for outings, excursions and festivities which conceal its religious meaning. In numerous Protestant churches of America the day of the Spirit's coming has been ignored almost completely, perhaps because of the false notion that it is a "Roman" celebration. And this is all the less comprehensible when one notes that the churches which pay little attention to Pentecost are often the very ones which lay greatest claim to the "freedom of the Spirit."

Special days like Easter and Pentecost are important to Christians only insofar as they call to remembrance each year the mighty acts by which God, the Father of all men, has given them hope of new life on earth and eternal life beyond it. Therefore it is right and fitting that the World Council of Churches, speaking through its presidents, should call all churches and all Christians to a more thoughtful and worshipful observance of the day which commemorates the coming of the life-bearing Spirit to the infant Church in Jerusalem. It is right and fitting just because the World Council is an organization

committed entirely to the cause of the *mission, renewal, and unity* of the Church in every part of the world. And to this three-fold cause the work of the Holy Spirit is essential.

In this day of world-wide revolution, upheaval, uncertainty, fear and strife, we Christians are quickly learning that the *mission* of the Church is far more than the vocational concern of people called missionaries. The persuasive and unrelenting proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the extension of the worshiping fellowship of the Church, are clearly the business of every sincere Christian. It is no exaggeration to declare that the ultimate peace of this threatened human race may depend upon the effectiveness of the Christian mission. Likewise it is sure that the irresponsibility of one Christian or of one congregation may have an abiding and detrimental effect upon particular persons who might otherwise have heard and believed the Word of salvation.

With the rapid increase of the earth's population at the rate of nearly 30 millions a year, we Christians of the world are a diminishing minority. With communism on the march, ancient Asian religions surging ahead, and the disease of Western secularism spreading like an epidemic, the Church has opposing it today a massed enemy of staggering power. Certainly the lines of Christians would crumble and fall into retreat except for one thing: the continuing presence since Pentecost of the Spirit of God. In this hour of fierce testing, the Holy Spirit gives the Church power for ad-

vance in its mission. As the ancient martyr Ignatius declared of Him:

"It is He which giveth eloquence and utterance in preaching the Gospel; it is He which openeth the mouth to declare the mighty works of God; it is He which engendereth a burning zeal towards God's Word, and giveth all men a tongue, yea, a fiery tongue, so that they may boldly and cheerfully profess the truth in the face of the whole world."

The Spirit's work, and hence the importance of Pentecost, are seen, secondly, in the movement for the *renewal* of the Church's life in every congregation. He is the life-giver, not only to the individual but to the community of the faithful. It is God's will that each Christian church should show forth the life of abundance and mutuality which He has conceived to be proper for men and women. Every little "colony of Heaven," whether a great city parish or a tiny fellowship of villagers, needs constantly to be shedding the aspects of a natural, self-centered, competitive society and manifesting corporately the life of love. Renewal in worship, mutual service, education, and joyful association comes about through the participation of all members, men and women, children and youth, laity and officers and clergy.

For all the varieties of functions and services in each church there are members with special gifts; and these have to be employed in the upbuilding of the church as a community. But whence come these gifts? Not from some natural aptitude, but from the Holy Spirit. All the necessary talents for the growth

and renewal of the Church, wrote St. Paul, "are inspired by one and the same Spirit, who apportioneth to each one individually as He wills." (I Cor. 12:11.)

The remembrance of the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost points, thirdly, to the *unity* of the Church. It was the Spirit Himself who seized the disciples and other followers of Jesus Christ and made them subordinate all other family and social loyalties to their participation in the life of the Church. And it was to only one Church which they were committed, because they could acknowledge the existence of only one Church of Jesus Christ. "For by one Spirit," continued St. Paul, "we were all baptized into one body."

In the present century, more than in any previous one, we Christians are striving to overcome the divisive barriers of denomination, race, and class which prevent the oneness of the Church from being experienced and seen. In truth, the effectiveness of the Church's mission and the churches' renewal today are largely dependent upon the degree to which this unity in Christ becomes manifest in every land. Yet we deceive ourselves by thinking that church unity is something we can fabricate by our own ingenuity and industry. Unity is a *gift* of God; He has granted unity in the ministry and person of Jesus Christ, and He enables the churches to appropriate it by their acceptance of the guiding of His Spirit.

So Pentecost, 1958, reminds us that the work of God in the Church and in the world is being carried forward by the presence and power of His Spirit. It reminds us that

we who have been drawn into this saving fellowship have been specially blessed by the Spirit. It tells us that in our desire to advance the mission, renewal and unity of the Church we need look for no other essential resource than Him who has

already come to us. And our proper prayer, therefore, is not a complaint about our inadequacy, but the plea that we be not rejected as unfit for God's service.

And take not Thy Holy Spirit from us.

THE WING FAMILY

(Continued from Page 11)

devoted, dedicated, and consecrated husband she is an alumna of Howard University. She has also done graduate work at Columbia University, New York, and the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Mrs. Simmons is a member of the Kappa Mu Honorary Society, and the Zeta Phi Beta Sorority. Her major is the field of Education, and Fine Arts. She has taught in the public schools in Baltimore, Inkster, Michigan and Minneapolis, Minnesota. Her husband is one of the most able and successful ministers in the Church of Allen. The re-building of St. Peter, which was burned a few years ago is a most lasting monument to his leadership, and pastoral abilities. Upon his type the future of the denomination rests securely.

The Wing family remnants include Miss Almayda L. Winston, Joan T. Fenderson, Miss Sarah Wing, George, and Ellsworth, and a grand child of Washington, D. C.; M. L. Simmons, Jr., and Phyllis of Minneapolis. The Wing who was never a slave is dead, but his works do follow him.

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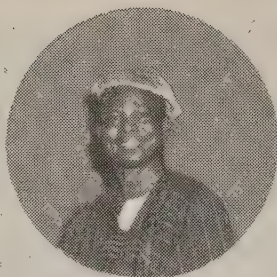
Suppose you were a Mexican herder on a sheep range and were lonely, far from your folks, and one evening a man in an old Ford car stopped by your camp fire for the night and told you some of the most beautiful stories that you ever heard; and when he went away in the morning, he left with you a little book in your own Spanish tongue. And when the sheep were resting, you read in the book and found these stories and more; and after a while you realized that you weren't alone but that a great Comrade was with you!—That is why there is a Bible Society!

Suppose you were a missionary and had to go to preach in a Chinese village because there were just three new Christians there who had asked so many times that you had to go. And as you preached you saw hope appear on a dull face in the crowd, and thoughtfulness displace a scornful look. And when you were through, your heart sank; for you couldn't stay and bring that gleam of hope up to the glow of faith, nor turn that thoughtfulness to conviction. And the three Christians were so very new! But then you took courage, for you had some Testaments and Gospels in their dialect, and you put these into their hands; and they would read and discuss them, until you could come again!—That is why there is a Bible Society!

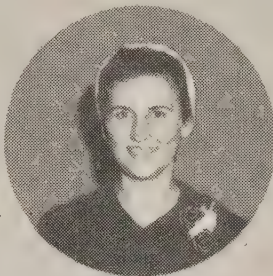
Suppose you were a Christian, deeply aware of the power of God's redeeming love in Christ in your own life, and finding in the Bible constant inspiration and guidance and companionship. Suppose you yearned that God's redeeming love might be made known to your fellow men. Suppose you knew that you couldn't do this alone but believed that others who felt as you did might join with you. Suppose you said in your heart, "I must do this for God." That is why there is a Bible Society!

*These young people attending Advisory Council described Scripture needs of their countries.

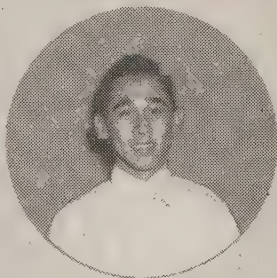
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The Problem in Black and White

By NEELA D'SOUZA

In the article which is reproduced below Neela D'Souza, an Indian, who made an on-the-spot study of race relations in America reveals the indignities which are daily meted out to Negroes and other coloured peoples in that Continent.

It is most disgusting that America which poses as the land of Liberty and champion of oppressed peoples should continue to practice racial segregation.

There can never be peace in the World when one race considers itself superior to the other and the American people are accordingly advised to stamp out such disgraceful incidents like the refusal to serve Ghana's Minister of Finance at an American wayside restaurant, the refusal to allow Negro children to attend school with whites at Little Rock.

—Editor

In America all men are created equal. But in the South equality ends long before they begin school.

The two races there go to school separately. There are black schools and white schools. The Negro child goes to school with other Negro children and is not allowed in those set apart for whites.

Every now and then a Negro or group of Negroes attempts to attend a white school. This often causes an ugly incident with feelings running high on both sides. You will remember reading about Little Rock, Arkansas, where such an incident occurred recently. Armed men cordoned off the High School and prevented a group of Negro youngsters from entering it. All through the last three years there have been reports of outbursts like this one from various parts of the South. And at the same time, although much less publicised, integration has been effected quietly and without trouble in other places.

What is the situation in the uni-

versities? Not very much better, on the whole. Traditional centres of learning and enlightenment, Southern universities, mostly exclude coloured students. The Negro is expected to go to colleges that cater only to his race. And when a Negro attempts to obtain admission to an all-white university a veritable storm breaks loose.

THE LUCY CASE

Autherine Lucy attempted this at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, early in 1956. Escorted by a police guard, she attended classes in spite of dire threats from members of the student body. Protest meetings were staged, but Autherine stuck it out. However, after a month she was expelled by the University authorities. The case was a burning topic of debate in America. Apart from that, it figured that the U. N. Commission on the Status of Women which met at Geneva shortly thereafter; the Soviet delegate raised the question of denial of rights to women in the U. S. citing the Lucy case.

Not only does the South keep its blacks apart in schools and colleges; it also houses them in separate areas. For a Negro to move into a white neighborhood is unthinkable. He lives among his race in the Negro part of the city, and it is not necessary to add that these areas are usually the worst.

With respect to housing, it is a mistake to imagine that segregation

is practiced only in the South. Barely a month ago, a Negro who bought a house in an all-white locality in Levittown, Pennsylvania, met with angry and violent protests from his neighbors. Chicago which is in the news constantly because of ugly incidents of racial discrimination has squeezed its Negro population into ghettos. The University of Chicago has fostered an all-white neighbourhood around it, fearing that parents might withdraw their children from school if Negroes lived nearby. An invisible barrier keeps the Negro out of Hyde Park, the University area.

With the question of housing U. N. staff, the problem of racial discrimination came up in New York. U. N. officials were to be housed in some flats in Manhattan owned by an insurance company which, in its lease, precluded Coloured tenants. Resentment against this was great, particularly because the Preamble to the U. N. Charter expressly condemns the practice of racial discrimination.

HOUSE BLASTED

The Carl Braden case demonstrates how apartheid works in America and points up the lengths to which its advocates will go to maintain it. In 1954, a white journalist of Louisville bought a house in a white neighbourhood of the city. Later, he sold it to a Negro friend. When the Negro family moved in they met with the usual hostility, demonstrations and violence common in such a case. Finally, an explosion wrecked the front of the house.

A grand jury which investigated

the cause of the explosion indicted Braden, his wife and four others. It charged that the explosion was the result of a Communist plot to stir up racial prejudice in Kentucky. Braden was sentenced to 15 years in prison and a fine of \$5,000. Although the original fact of Braden's transferring the house to a Negro was obscured by trumped-up charges of "Communist sympathies," the motive behind the extraordinarily severe sentence is clear. The conviction itself was based on a travesty of justice.

The Negro in the South travels at the back in public buses. Even if the front of the bus is empty and the rear crowded, he stands or squeezes himself into a seat in the section reserved for him. And if the white portion of the bus becomes crowded, he may be asked to give up his seat, irrespective of the fact that he had boarded it before the white passengers.

In Montgomery, Alabama, a Negro woman who refused to give up her seat for a white passenger was fined in court. The incident set off a movement among her people that resulted in their organizing a year-long boycott of the city's transport system. Economically, the bus company was badly hit as the Negroes made up 70% of its patronage. White leaders attempted to coerce and intimidate the coloured people. The participants in the boycott were even prosecuted and sentenced. But the boycott continued with full support from the Negro population until the U. S. Supreme Court declared bus segregation illegal in Montgomery, in November 1956. Negroes

now ride with whites in desegregated buses in this city.

And in restaurants, bars, waiting-rooms at train and bus stations, cinemas, beaches—practically every public place—the Negro stays out. Or else, he goes to his own black section. Some restaurants do not admit Negroes at all; others that do, feed them in their kitchens or back rooms. In most Southern towns you will find that Negroes have their own grocery stores as the local white super-market is out-of-bounds for them.

At a cinema house they sit in a separate section. In some towns, white toilet-rooms are marked "ladies"; Negroes go to those reserved for "coloured women." In Miami, Florida, the fashionable beaches are taboo for the Negro who is left to choose a less *glamorous* spot. And all these restrictions are rigorously enforced, both by the white citizens and by the official keepers of the law.

The total picture is gloomy. But it does not exclude happy personal relationships, but again, up to a limit. Mala, my Southern roommate, who prided herself on her refined and cultured ways, had happy memories of her Negro nanny whom she loved. But she was not allowed into her nanny's room and would shudder at the very suggestion.

White and Negro children play together, each dearly understanding just where the other belongs, and go off without a murmur to their separate schools. If, perchance, there are some Negro students at a white university in the South they are housed separately.

The race question in the South is

a delicate and difficult one. Sometimes it is hard to understand exactly what it is based on. For race and colour are totally different matters and yet an Indian woman, conspicuous in her sari, can have a waitress refuse to serve her. This happened to me in Southern restaurant. Foreign students at Southern universities, particularly those from Asia and Africa, come up against discrimination in hotels and restaurants frequently. Indian men travelling in the South are often advised seriously to use a turban, lest they should meet with those distasteful experiences. Even the Indian Ambassador in the U. S. encountered segregation when an airport restaurant in Texas refused to serve him in the general dining-room.

What lies behind the Southern attitude to the color question? A great many factors including several decades of history during which the present set-up dug itself deep into the social fabric. The Negro was brought over as a slave from Africa to work in the white man's fields, to pick cotton for him.

He was property of his master as much as the goods and chattels of his household. He was given a little hut to live in and had not much beyond the barest means of subsistence. He could be whipped or punished, bought and sold, at his master's pleasure. Even the poorest "poor white" regarded himself and was held to be superior to the black man.

A good deal of this changed with time, but long years of slavery, misery, deprivation and poverty relegated the Negro to a secondary status. He even began to look upon

himself as naturally inferior and was encouraged in this belief by the white man.

For his part the white man attempted to rationalize the situation. The Negro was assumed to be incapable of bettering himself. His was an inherently inferior intellect and so he could never learn much. It followed that a rudimentary education was more than enough for him. There was no way of improving his condition because of his inferior capacity — therefore he was best left where he was.

Were he encouraged to better his condition he would only fail miserably and make himself unhappy. Far better to let him be, keep him in this less-than-human condition. So while the South perfected and prided itself on its advancing ways of life, the Negro was "kept in his place." His wages were lower, his home dirtier, his clothes shabbier than those of the whites in his town. And he had, perforce, to live in the areas earmarked for him, often appalling slums.

RAPE COMPLEX

Over the years various fetishes grew up. One that took strong hold of the Southern mind was the rape complex. This grew out of the myth of Southern Womanhood. The lady of the house and her daughters were the embodiment of all that was gracious and good and refined; they were very remote from the men of the inferior race—or so the white men liked to believe. But white women did, on occasion, betray a partiality for the virility that was evident in the "inferior race." Such a preference might easily develop into a marital or other alliance and

this had to be prevented at all costs.

So the white man exaggerated Jim Crow into a monster who menaced the purity of white womanhood. It is true that there were a few cases of rape, but these were distorted out of proportion to their importance and represented as a threat to the white race. "Mongrelization" became a rallying - cry against the advancement of the Negro.

The Civil War attempted to do away with the whole ugly business of slavery and racial discrimination by force. Although military victory lay with the North, the South did not relinquish its position. Slavery was abolished but no pressure from outside was going to force the South to grant the Negro an equal status with the white. Let the Yankee take the Negro to the North if he wished. The South would deal with the black man in its own way.

World War I saw the Negro fight in the forces with other Americans on an equal footing. Contact with other countries opened his mind; abroad he was accepted as an American and not discriminated against because of his colour. He returned to his home in the South, proud. He sent his children to schools in the North to get an education. Some of them settled there; others came back to the South out of a strong sense of duty determined to help their unfortunate fellows.

The white in the South allowed the black to advance—this was inevitable—but only within limits. The Negro was valuable to him as a source of cheap labour and he intended to let this continue. In the North the housewife did all her

chores herself; domestic help was beyond her means. The Southern lady, on the contrary, could easily afford Negro servants as their wages were low. While wages and standards of living rose in the North, the South remained behind.

VOTING RIGHTS

Although theoretically the Negro had the right to vote, thousands of them were debarred from exercising their franchise on the flimsiest of pretexts. And the Negro had to knuckle down under all these limitations or else suffer serious consequences which ranged from threats to his life to destruction of his property, and even murder.

But a human being reaches the limits of his endurance some time, no matter how rigorously he has been schooled. His patience does not last for ever. He cannot willingly submit to indignity and deg-

radation for all time. That is what is happening to the Negro in the South today. He is fighting for his rights as a human being, for the social, political and economic equality has so long been denied to him.

And conditions are changing too. Slowly, yes. The battle is being fought in school-rooms, courts, universities, everywhere. The Negro is learning to organize himself and strenuous efforts are being made to help him.

—Courtesy: TIMES of INDIA

Ideals are like stars; you will not succeed in touching them with your hands, but like the seafaring man on the desert of waters, you choose them as your guides and following them, you reach your destiny.

—Carl Schurz

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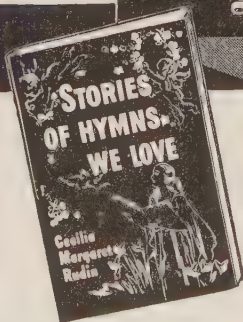
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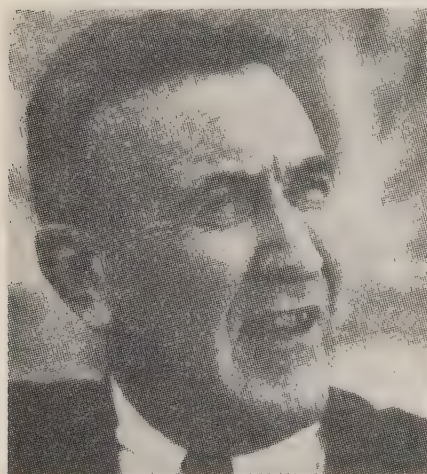


What Negroes Can Learn From Gandhi

Our Former Ambassador to India Compares "Civil Disobedience" Methods of Saintly Little Hindu With The Peaceful Triumph of American Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama.

By CHESTER BOWLES

The author: "We Americans live in an age of miracles.



CHESTER BOWLES

"Now let's practice it again," the Negro preacher said to members of his congregation. "I'm a white man and I insult you, I shove you, maybe I hit you. What do you do?"

Their answer was ready: "I keep my temper. I do not budge. I do not strike back. I turn the other cheek."

It was a December evening in 1956. After a year of walking to work and of riding in hundreds of cars organized in general pools the 42,000 Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, had established their constitutional right to ride in nonsegregated buses.

With the beginning of the next workday the new bus rules would go into effect. Now they were patiently going through demonstration sessions in their churches, pretending the pews were bus seats, learning how to apply their Christian principles to this most explosive of all problems in human relations. "Now remember," their ministers advised them, "don't crow. Don't lord it over the white riders. Show patience and respect. Do unto them as you would have them do unto you."

In the following weeks, white extremists fired shots, hurled bombs and subjected the Negroes and their leaders to a barrage of threats and insults. But they stood their ground, firm and dignified, without arrogance or bitterness.

When their victory was finally won, many white citizens who had been active in organizing resistance to bus desegregation said grudgingly, "We didn't know the Negroes had the stuff to do what they've just done. We never thought we'd come to respect them, but we have."

Just how had this practical, latter-day demonstration of the Sermon on the Mount been achieved? What were the techniques which made it possible?

The Montgomery program had deep spiritual roots, not only in Christianity but in the ancient re-



BOMBAY, 1942: At this meeting Gandhi (right) launched a campaign of nonviolent resistance to British rule in India. Soon afterward he and Nehru (in cap) were jailed again.

ligions of Asia. Martin Luther King, the twenty-seven-year-old Negro minister who more than any other individual was responsible for its success, says frankly that he borrowed his techniques directly from Gandhi, who used them brilliantly to bring freedom to 400,000,000 Indians.

Gandhi said, "It may be through Negroes that the message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world."

Gandhi in turn was stimulated by the views of the Russian writer, Tolstoy, and by the American, Thoreau, who was sentenced to serve in a Massachusetts prison because of his "peaceful protest" against the Fugitive Slave Laws. Indeed, it was from Thoreau's essay, Civil Disobedience, that Gandhi borrowed the phrase used widely to describe his program.

Thoreau himself was influenced by the writings of the forest wise men of India who wrote the Upanishads. These ancient Hindu writings were translated into English in the early 1800's. Thoreau read and pondered them in the Harvard College library. Thus this political technique of boycott and nonviolent protest has already crossed and recrossed the ocean to strengthen hearts and to influence minds in South Asia, South Africa and in Alabama, U.S.A.

Many Americans who consider themselves hardheaded may discount the happenings in Montgomery as a special situation and scoff at the suggestion that such techniques could, in fact, ease the explosive racial antagonism that

plagues so many American communities. But one thing is sure: their skepticism is no greater than that of Gandhi's contemporaries a few years before his final triumph.

When this little man in a loincloth said, "I believe it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire, to save his honor, his religion, his soul, and to lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration," there was general merriment in British and Indian ruling circles. But even the most skeptical ultimately came to honor him.

After years of jail going in resistance to unfair laws and years of hard constructive work to create the conditions of justice among the Indians themselves, he demonstrated the political power of his religious faith. By bringing that faith shrewdly and courageously to bear on the intolerable institution of colonialism he freed the Indian people. In so doing, he laid the groundwork for the fall of the British colonial empire and for its regeneration in the British Commonwealth of Nations—exactly as he said he would.

There are suggestive parallels between the Montgomery boycott and the beginning of Gandhi's struggle. The movement in Montgomery started from an incident which blossomed into a crusade.

A quiet Negro seamstress, Mrs. Rosa Parks, had been forced many times to give her bus seat to a white person. But one day, for some reason that she herself does not fully understand, she suddenly decided not to move. When the driver threatened to call the police, she said, "Then you just call them."



MONTGOMERY, 1957: Two days after his house was bombed, the Rev. Martin Luther King told a mass meeting that the Negro attack on segregation must be a peaceful one.

Mrs. Parks was arrested. Negro religious leaders called for a one-day city-wide boycott of the buses. When white extremists reacted vigorously, the protest grew until it covered the entire city bus system and involved almost every Negro family in Montgomery.

The Gandhian movement which ultimately freed India from foreign rule started in about the same way; in his case the spark which set it off was struck on a train in remote, race-conscious South Africa in 1893.

King says, "We are seeking to improve not the Negro of Montgomery, but the whole of Montgomery."

Gandhi had begun his adult career a year or so earlier as an insecure, inarticulate young attorney. While studying law in England he wore a high silk hat and took dancing lessons. In India he was so shy and frightened that he lost his first case, involving a ten-dollar claim, when he became tongue-tied before the judge and was laughed out of court.

To help him build confidence in himself, his relatively well-to-do family arranged for him to handle a lawsuit between some Indian merchants in South Africa. In Africa's fiery racial furnace something happened that transformed this twenty-four-year-old failure into an architect of history.

When Gandhi arrived in South Africa some 100,000 Indians were living there, most of whom had been recruited as cheap labor for the European plantations and mines.

A few hundred chosen Indians had been given a right to vote, but otherwise all were second-class citizens.

These were called "coolies" or "sammies" and suffered segregation. On the statue books they were described as "semi-barbarous Asiatics." Into this situation came the proud young British-educated Gandhi, insisting on his first-class ways.

The night of his first train ride in South Africa, Gandhi was ordered to leave the compartment reserved for whites. When he refused to do so, he was pushed off the train at the next station stop.

As he stood shivering there in the dark, his overcoat and baggage still on the train now fast disappearing down the tracks, Gandhi asked himself the fateful question, "Should I fight for my rights here or go back to India?"

"I came to the conclusion," he recounts, "that to run back to India would be cowardly." The "golden rule," he decided, "is to dare to do the right at any cost."

When he took the stagecoach for Pretoria he was addressed as "sammie," ordered to sit outside on a dirty sackcloth and beaten by a burly white man. When he arrived in Pretoria, the hotels refused to give him a room. It was an American Negro who befriended him and somehow found him lodgings.

The next day he invited the Indians of Pretoria to a meeting at which he proposed that they stand up and fight the discrimination against them and that the fight be conducted with new, constructive methods. This time the words came easily.

The end they must seek, Gandhi said, was a community of true neighbors. Therefore, the means must be those of persuasion and not of viol-

ence. Members of the Indian minority must forego hatred. They must respect their white neighbors as fellow human beings even while opposing their unjust discriminatory laws. They must prepare themselves to endure blows and prison without flinching and without resort to counterblows or insults. They must persuade, not only through words but through their lives. Their words must become flesh.

"Let us begin," he suggested, "by considering the grievances held against us by the white people. Let us see if the reasons or rationalizations which the whites give for discriminating against us are justified.

"Then," he continued, "let us put our own house in order, even now while fighting for our civil rights, even before they grant the reforms we ask, even poor as we are."

Many of the Indian merchants who came to hear him were known for slick dealings and sharp bargaining. Gandhi proposed that they stick rigidly to the truth and that they show a new concern for their responsibility to the community.

All Indians, he added, must do something to improve the unsanitary conditions in the Indian slums. Why wait for legal victories "for the necessary drain cleaning?" he asked.

"We can't blame the whites," he continued, "for all our troubles, nor can we by ourselves end all the poverty in which our people are trapped. But we can begin to clean up our homes, to teach illiterate Indian adults to read and to provide free schools for the children of the poor."

By trial and error, Gandhi devised a political-action program with dra-

matic new dimensions. Instead of working just through the law — by appealing for an end to restrictive legislation in parliament and by seeking court or electoral victories — Gandhi showed the Indians how to combine peaceful resistance to discriminatory laws with constructive community service.

When the Boer War came, his followers urged him to step up his resistance program. The whites, they said, had their backs against the wall and now was the time to put on the pressure.

Gandhi rejected this proposal as unfair. Instead, he called off his political campaign, organized an Indian volunteer ambulance corps of 1100, and led them wherever the fighting was heaviest. For valor under fire, he and thirty-six other Indians received Empire war medals.

When the war was over he renewed his program of nonviolent pressure on the government and the conflict again became intense. At one point the whites tried to lynch him, and he heard the mob singing, "We'll hang Gandhi from the sour-apple tree."

Yet Gandhi did not flinch. He led tens of thousands of Indians in a peaceful march across the state, deliberately violating the segregation laws. Hundreds were struck down by the police and thousands went to prison.

When Jan Christian Smuts, the harried leader of the South African government, offered a civil-rights compromise that seemed honorable, Gandhi accepted it despite the violent opposition of militant In-

dians who asserted that this was a "betrayal."

Compromise and trust, he argued, is the essence of nonviolent struggle. "Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times," he said, the civil resister must be "ready to trust him for the twenty-first time—for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed."

Later, as white pressure to reject all compromises on discrimination mounted, Smuts went back on his word, as Gandhi's Indian critics said he would. Gandhi's response was to start the struggle anew. Again the jails were filled with hundreds of Indians who refused to obey discriminatory laws, but who also refused to exchange blows or insults.

Eventually, Prime Minister Smuts decided that there was no practical alternative but to reach a fair settlement with Gandhi. "You can't put twenty thousand Indians in jail," he said.

To Gandhi himself, one of Smuts' secretaries added, "I do not like your people and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands on you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers; then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy . . . And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness."

Before sailing home to India to apply his newly tested methods there in behalf of independence, Gandhi reminded the South African Indians that their victory was only half won. To Smuts, as a farewell present, he sent a pair of sandals

that he had made while in jail as Smuts' prisoner.

Twenty-four years later on Gandhi's seventieth birthday, in 1939, Smuts, as a gesture of friendship, returned the sandals Gandhi had given him, to show that he had cherished them through the years. "I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man," wrote the first official to send Gandhi to prison. "It was my fate to be the antagonist of a man for whom even then I had the highest respect."

In Africa, Gandhi and the Indians were outnumbered ten to one. In India the situation was reversed. If 400,000,000 Indians learned to say "no" and mean it, Gandhi knew that they could end the domination of a few hundred thousand Englishmen.

But here as in South Africa, the "no," which Gandhi taught them to say was not that of violent revolution or subversion or anarchy. Rather it was a method which taught respect for law even while resisting particular unjust laws. Peacefully, cheerfully and massively, he and his followers accepted jail as the penalty for disobeying them.

In India, as in Africa, Gandhi's program went far beyond the struggle against British domination. His goal was to build an India that could govern itself. Therefore he spent as much time training his countrymen in constructive work in the villages as in the effort to achieve national independence.

His thirteen-point program for Indian development included the end of untouchability within Hinduism, the establishment of Hindu-Moslem unity and brotherhood, and im-

proved methods of agriculture, diet, education and public health in the 500,000 villages where most Indians lived.

Gandhi's political genius enabled him to select and dramatize issues which the people understood. In 1930 his famous salt march focused the whole independence fight on a simple demand of the Indian villager: an end to the hated British tax on salt and their prohibition of homemade salt.

When Gandhi announced that he would walk 200 miles to the shores of the Arabian Sea and make salt out of God's ocean in defiance of man's largest empire, India was electrified. Millions of peasants gathered along the roads to cheer him as he strode quickly by.

On the night of April 5th he reached the sea. "God willing," he said, "we will commence civil disobedience at 6:30 tomorrow morning." At sunrise he held his usual prayer meeting and at the appointed time reached down to raise his first handful of salt from the salt beach.

As the news was flashed across the country the excitement became intense, reaching into the most remote villages. Nehru and nearly 100,000 others were arrested.

Then Gandhi announced that he would lead a nonviolent march of protest on the government salt depot. Although he, too, was promptly arrested the raid was carried out by 2500 Indians pledged not to raise their hand or voice against the police.

Although hundreds were struck down, there was no resort to counterviolence. When Gandhi in his cell heard that even the fierce Pa-

than Moslems from the Northwest frontier had maintained their self-disciplines he was overjoyed. Indians everywhere began to stand a little straighter, and for the first time to feel that they, as individuals, had rights, responsibilities and a future.

Gandhi chose for his home the poorest village in the poorest part of India, where untouchables predominated. His associates protested, saying that he would bury himself there. Yet Sevagram was soon accepted as the vital center of all India, the actual capital of this ancient nation in the course of its rebirth.

When I visited his mud hut there in 1952, it was exactly as he had left it. Among his books were the *Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ* and the *Gospel of St. John*. Gandhi had often said that his aim in life was to live the Sermon on the Mount.

On the wall over Gandhi's simple bed hung a sign: "When you are in the right you can afford to keep your temper; and when you are wrong you cannot afford to lose it."

For thirty years, Gandhi, with brilliant political timing and a resolute belief in ultimate victory, applied his revolutionary new techniques of peaceful political action to the creation of a free and socially awakened India.

Independence finally came, on August 15, 1957. Throughout India wildly cheering crowds gathered for the celebration. Massed Indian and British army bands played their respective national anthems, the Union Jack came down from the flagstaffs and the new flag of the Republic of India proudly rose in its place.

What a strange and magnificent

climax to an anticolonial revolution! Four hundred million people had won their right to rule themselves. Miraculously, they had won it without bloodshed or rancor.

Because the British yielded gracefully, the basis was laid for a new relationship of equality and mutual respect within the British Commonwealth.

As in Montgomery, Alabama, nine years later, there was grudging admiration even from the diehards: "Say what you will, you have to give these people credit."

Gandhi's chief lieutenant, Jawaharlal Nehru, when from being the king's prisoner to the king's first minister of his largest domain. And Lord Mountbatten went from being the last viceroy of the Emperor of India to the first governor-general of a free commonwealth, selected for this honor by the very people who had fought British rule most of their lives. British governors who had sent thousands of Indians to jail suddenly found themselves showered with garlands and good will.

No thoughtful person can deny the practical effectiveness of the Gandhian approach in India or even in Montgomery, Alabama. But can it work in Little Rock, Chicago, Levittown, and New Orleans? Can it free Americans — North, South, East and West—from the suffocating burden of racial prejudice and fear accumulated in 300 years of largely unconscious compromise with Christian principles?

To answer these questions we need to consider why Gandhi's political techniques set India free and paved the way for her emergence as an effective new democracy. The

explanations of Gandhi's closest associates, including Nehru, agree on all the essentials.

The prime condition for the success of Gandhi's way of fighting injustice, they say, was that it took place within a legal system administered by people who professed a democratic creed and who permitted a large measure of free speech and a free press.

The British national conscience was stirred by the Gandhian struggle because the British are a deeply democratic and peaceful people. His techniques were effective because the free institutions of Britain enabled Gandhi's views and the story of his own and his followers' sacrifices to reach the people.

Dozing consciences were thus awakened, deep religious chords were struck and an atmosphere of respect and support for India's cause gradually was created.

As a trained lawyer, Gandhi never lost his respect for the majesty of law. He called for the acceptance of the state's right to make and enforce laws, while offering up his person and his freedom in protest until those laws which violated democratic principles were changed. His appeal was from man-made discriminatory laws to a higher natural law, to the moral law.

This is precisely the approach that enabled the brilliantly led, well-organized Negro citizens of Montgomery to abolish segregation on the city buses. Under the leadership and inspiration of the Reverend Martin Luther King and his associates they began their mass meetings with prayers "for those that oppose us," and they regularly

pledged themselves to use "only the weapons of love and nonviolence." They said they were "walking with God." They named their movement the Montgomery Improvement Association.

Doctor King laid down their objectives in eloquent Gandhian terms. "The Negro," he said, "must come to the point that he can say to his white brothers: 'We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we will not obey your evil laws. We will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. So, in winning the victory, we will not only win freedom for ourselves but we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that you will be changed also. The victory will be a double victory: we will defeat the evil system and win the hearts and souls of the perpetrators of the evil system.'"

Like Gandhi, Doctor King also stressed that he and his associates were working for the advancement of the whites as well as for that of colored people. "We are seeking to improve not the Negro of Montgomery," he said, "but the whole of Montgomery."

His appeal to his Negro listeners to put their own house in order is reminiscent of Gandhi's appeal sixty years ago to the Indians living in the slums of Pretoria. "Let us examine the reasons given by white men for segregation," Doctor King said. "Let us see which reflect conditions we can do something about, and take action ourselves. Some say we want our constitutional rights

so we can marry their daughters. But that is nonsense, so we don't have to pay any attention to that.

"Some say that we smell. Well, the fact is that some of us do smell. We cannot afford a plane trip to Paris to buy the world's most expensive perfumes, but no Negro in Montgomery is so poor that he cannot afford a five-cent bar of soap."

And then King goes on frankly to list the illegitimacy rate among Negroes, their crime rate, their purchase of cars beyond their means, their lower health standards. And the Montgomery Improvement Association works day and night to remove these legacies of slavery, segregation and enforced second-class citizenship.

Already Montgomery city and welfare records are beginning to reflect the change—a drop in Negro drinking, in juvenile delinquency, in divorce.

If this combination program of nonviolent opposition to segregation and community service spreads beyond Montgomery, the road is likely to be a rocky one. Gandhi himself demonstrated that there is no easy, effortless path to the attainment of our Christian objective of equal dignity for all men.

Nehru noted that by turning the other cheek the Indians at first only enraged the British. Never, he says, had he seen men with more hate in their eyes than the soldiers who beat him with their long, steel-tipped rods, while he stood quietly, not lifting a finger in his own defense. No civilized human being likes to have his conscience so severely tested.

What counted, however, was the

end result. As the Indians proved their capacity for peaceful resistance, they eventually won the respect of the British. Equally important, they came to respect themselves. "We cast off our fear," said Nehru, "and walked like men."

The climax of the Montgomery struggle, observers say, came when a Negro preacher, at a church celebration, read from First Corinthians: "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things."

It is difficult to judge prospects for this program on a nation-wide scale. Gandhi was not only a spiritual leader of depth, dedication and courage but also a political genius. In America much will depend on the ability of Negro leaders to develop similar conviction and skill under pressure. Even more will depend on the number, raw courage and dedication of their followers.

The two conditions which Gandhian leaders laid down for the success of their nonviolent approach certainly exist here in America. Whether it be in Little Rock or in Levittown, racial discrimination sorely troubles our national conscience.

The great majority of moderate whites in Montgomery were profoundly shocked by the bombing of Negro churches, the homes of several Negro ministers and of the one white minister who supported the boycott.

The requirement of a free press is also met. The country-wide attention paid to the Montgomery bus

boycott demonstrates that the means of communication are ready to carry the news. The Federal Bill of Rights insures against the kind of terror that liquidates and crushes completely.

Only one thing is certain: if we are to achieve racial harmony in America, a great moral force of some kind must be created that will awaken our national conscience.

The Supreme Court has made its decision. Most leaders in both political parties agree that the law as it has now been defined must somehow be obeyed.

But pleas for law observance, however eloquent and however firmly supported in areas of crisis by Federal troops, will never be sufficient in themselves. Laws which touch deep prejudices and emotions are not obeyed merely because they have been placed on the statute books and defined by the courts. They are obeyed only when a great majority of people come to believe they are right. Prohibition was clear evidence of this.

In a democratic community, Abraham Lincoln once said, "public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

If we are to ease the racial conflict which so dangerously divides America in a world that is two-thirds colored, we must come to see it as a moral issue and not simply as a legal one. It is an issue involving no more and no less than

the dignity of man. It can successfully be met only as the millions of good Americans who through generations of custom and prejudice have come to believe in the dignity of some men only are persuaded of their error.

Nowhere else in America does religious conviction run so deep as in the South. It was a white Southern minister who said about the racial problem, "There is just one question to ask: what would Christ do?"

Sooner or later, the South, and also the North, East and West, will respond with the only Christian answer possible, for Christ came to show the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and He knows

neither Gentile nor Jew, Greek nor barbarian, black nor white.

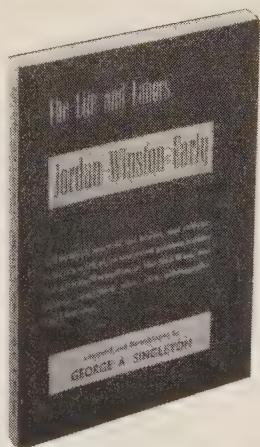
The Gandhian way of persuasion and change is designed to make a profound moral issue of this kind clear, to stir the conscience of the great decent majority who believe in the laws of God, and to persuade that majority to bring its actions into line with its beliefs.

"It may be through the Negroes," Gandhi once said, "that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world."

This, it may be said, will take no less than a miracle of greatness. That is true. But we Americans are living in an age of miracles and we are capable of greatness.

—The End

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CLEMENT'S COMMENTS

By T. ANDREW DREDDEN

*Let come what will, I mean to
bear it out,
And either live with glorious vic-
tory
Or die with fame, renowned in
chivalry.
He is not worthy of the honey-
comb,
That shuns the hive because of the
bees.*

—William Shakespeare

On February 20th at Union Bethel, New Orleans, Louisiana, while the Episcopal Fathers, the Connectional Council, and the Brotherhooders were holding their respective meetings, a friend-preacher-Presiding Elder from Lexington, Kentucky, The Reverend Dr. W. H. Walker, breathed his last breath, quit the area of time and space, and became a pilgrim of the infinite. Truly "There is but a step between me and death." So this was the most impressive lesson which we were taught at the New Orleans meetings.

So we are in the midst of a Recession. Over five millions of men and women are out of employment. Large business firms are merging; railroads are reducing the number of trains. The government is trying to raise the price of postage stamps. Money is tight, and financing of real estate property for buyers is difficult. All of this effects the economics of the Church, and what are we doing about it? The out-go must not be greater than the income. The recession is not surprising because whatever goes up must

soon or late come down. Do you remember the Hoover depression?

The competitive race between the East and the West continues at an alarming race in the field of modern scientific weapons or war, such as the launching of satellites, Inter-Continental Missiles, and atomic-powered submarines. Yes, the race is on. A question, please. Who will be here to determine the winner? Selah.

A few days ago an army bomber was flying over the vicinity of Florence, South Carolina, and a bomb of some sort accidentally fell to the ground. The explosion caused damage to a house, and left a huge hole in the ground. Just suppose there had been some atomic power, and lethal radiation. It goes to show what could happen in the event of an enemy attack. Strange enough to consider the fact that the explosion occurred near the spot where the Reverend J. A. DeLaine's house and church were burned because he stood for first-class citizenship and Christian democracy. God spoke to the Church at New Orleans, He spoke to the nation at Florence, He spoke to the non-black Supremacists at Maxton. Think it over. Theodicy.

We doubt not that man will eventually reach the moon, and distant planets. Should he succeed in the venture, what difference will it make? It would be a fine thing and will be when the Martians or

Jupiterians send missionaries to the earth to teach its denizens the art of peace and brotherhood. In the long, long run the people of the earth will learn the hard way that skin coloration and skin pigmentation are not the criteria of moral and spiritual worth. The Saturnites will teach that man is of intrinsic value, and supreme worth in the sight of the Cosmic God.

"Whose land is this?" Did you read the sermon by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris in the previous issue of the Review? He makes the point that "This is God's land," and "His world." The gold, diamonds, rubber, uranium, and mineral wealth of Africa belong to Him. Yet some people act as if these natural resources all belong to them. The masses of people are kept in ignorance, and exploited beyond imagination. Human life has little value. Do you think that God is pleased? The words of His Son: "I am come that they might have life." Preach it!

A few weeks ago a sovereign state attempted to enact a law requiring all blood to be used in transfusions be labeled 'White' and 'Black'. It failed of passage. Good, because all blood has been mixed across millions of years from the days of the amoeba, the polyp, to Pithecanthropus, our Simian ancestors until now. Brother Veritas' motion that the subject be tabled is in order and carried without debate.

At this time when so much emphasis is placed upon the study of science it needs to be remembered

that education ought to be liberal and broad. Narrowing our studies to the field of science may be detrimental to the generations ahead. We must also come back to the study and appreciation of great, choice spirits. In them we find the transforming power of lofty ideals. In other words the race of men which fails to appreciate true greatness in historic personalities is on the way into oblivion.

Again we insist upon your reading "INSIDE AFRICA" by Gunther. The nine hundred odd pages will be amply and fully rewarding, if you want to be informed richly upon the fatherland. The book is rich, factual, and on-the-spot observations by an able and competent author. What Africa needs is education and eco-

(Continued on Page 53)



WORSHIP TIME

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The Eyes of The Whole World Are Looking Upon Wilberforce University

Moral Crisis Lies Usually at the Roots of Economic Crisis

By KARAL MARCINKOWSKI, Ph.D.

*As far as you improve your souls
By so much you will also improve
your institutions.*

"Twenty-three centuries are looking down from the tops of these Pyramids" said Napoleon to his soldiers before the famous battle in Egypt. By these few words so strongly did he enkindle his warriors that they won a brilliant victory.

How much more important for the African Race and perhaps for the whole of Mankind is the spiritual battle that is being fought by our Wilberforce University for its existence, for its development and for the possibility of the performance of its spiritual and cultural mission.

Upon Wilberforce University are directed the eyes of the whole African Race both in America and Africa or wherever they may live. It is so because Wilberforce University as the oldest Negro scientific and cultural institution in the whole world, has become the spiritual banner of the whole African Race. Wilberforce University is the symbol of independent creativeness in the field of knowledge, education, and culture. Towards Wilberforce University are also directed the eyes of many European and Asiatic peoples. Those of them who sympathize with the African Race would like to see our Wilberforce University prospering and growing, and thus to have a real, a factual evidence of the capability

of the Black Race for higher mental creativeness. On the contrary, those who are open or hidden enemies of the Negroes would like to see either the total collapse of Wilberforce University or at least a prolonged state of moral, spiritual and financial decay, and thus to have irrefutable evidence for their outrageous slogan that the Negro Race is not capable of higher spiritual creativeness, since they are unable even to secure the normal development of their oldest University, and will much more easily sustain such accusation against the Negro Race as the American laws allow the Negroes to organize, to manage, and to develop their institutions as they please or as they are able to do it. And thus the enemies of the African Race will say to the whole world that their contempt of the Negro Race is just, since it is based on concrete grounds.

* * * * *

In founding Wilberforce University the great Negro Hearts and Minds had in view spiritual, cultural, and economic elevation of the whole Negro People.

In accordance with such a sublime goal and Foundation Act of our University constitutes that one of its first and basic tasks is to implant in the Negro youth true and deep knowledge as well as to educate them in the Christian religion in the

spirit of world brotherhood of all men regardless of race, religion, creed, or nationality.

Laying emphasis upon giving the Negro youth true scientific knowledge, the wise Founders of our Wilberforce University knew well that merely the so-called "religious education" is unable to assure for the Negroes their equal human rights and equal human dignity. History taught them as it is still teaching all of us that during the Middle Ages despite Christianity and of general "religious education" the overwhelming majority of Christians in Europe, that is at least 90% of the whole population, were subjected to inhuman exploitation and degradation.—And by whom? They were degraded and exploited by their "brothers in Christ," that is by the nobility and other privilege social classes. And we ought not forget that those inhuman exploiters were the most ardent champions of the so-called "religious education," which in their view should be based first of all on one of the Biblical principles: "Slave, obey your master." In consequence of such "religious education" at least 90% of the whole European population were living in squalid poverty, in economic, social, and spiritual degradation. They were the object of inhuman exploitation by those champions of "religious education." Also later, despite Martin Luther and the Reformation, the lot of the lower classes did not undergo improvement, since also in his own interpretation of the Bible, slavery is sanctified by God Himself and "baptism does not make men free."

Such was the lot of the white

Christians in Europe, both in Catholic and Protestant countries. No better, even worse was the lot of the Negroes. It is enough to mention that for instance in the Christian America both Catholics and Protestants introduced the institution of slavery, the most horrific and abominable form of man's degradation. The white men with their "religious education" with the cross in their hands and the name of God in their mouths having already ruthlessly exterminated the aboriginal Red, Indian Race, imposed iron chains upon the other race, upon the Black Race, upon the Negroes whom they, by using all kinds of violence and treachery, transplanted from Africa. They established slavery in spite of the existence of the Christianity for more than one and half thousand years. What more, the white men, having put the chains upon the unhappy Negroes, legalized and even sanctified this cruel institution. They sanctified it by quoting the Biblical sentence: "Slave, obey your master." Such was the practice of the Americans both Catholics and Protestants. — Yes, "Slave, obey your master" has become for them the basic principle of "religious education."

The Great Founders of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as the Founders of Wilberforce University, knew equally well that even in those parts of the United States where the lot of Negroes was a little better, the contempt and discrimination did not cease against the black Christians, against their black brothers in Christ. Even in the churches of Philadelphia, in the

so-called city of "Brotherly Love" and the "Cradle of Liberty," the Negro People were treated with contempt and were compelled to occupy the seats only in the rear.

Thus the wise Founders of Wilberforce University resolved that the education of Negroes must have strong scientific background and be based upon EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS and upon EQUAL HUMAN DIGNITY. In establishing such principles the Founders desired to give their Negro People the true education in the spirit of the greatest Greek thinker Plato, who said: *"Man without true education walks lame through all his life."* In establishing such principles the Founders anticipated the spirit of the memorable "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" issued by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1948, in which we read: *"All humans are free and equal in dignity and rights; they are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedom set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions national or social organization, property or birth status. Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; it shall promote understanding and tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups."*

* * * * *

Thus according to the will of the Founders, Wilberforce University

has to be for the most distant future, for all times the fundament of spiritual, cultural and economic development of the whole Negro Race.

Wilberforce University has to be the highest institution of scientific learning and the treasury of Negro culture. It has to be the Negroes' Athens and Mecca.

Wilberforce University has to be the sublime symbol of the Progress of the African Race; it has to be the advance-guard in the struggle for Equal Human Rights and Equal Human Dignity.

Wilberforce University has to be the smithery and champion of the most progressive ideas to the benefit of the Negro Race and all Mankind; it has to be the temple, the sanctuary of the noblest ideas of Mankind.

Wilberforce University has to be the champion of World-Brotherhood in the spirit of Liberty and Equality of all men.

Wilberforce University has to be the sacred Promethean fire of devotion and heroic self-sacrifice in the service of the Negro Race and all Humanity.

* * * * *

The Great Founders of Wilberforce University planted it as a sound, young oak; they planted it in sound soil. They planted it in the hearts of the whole Negro People. Since that moment one hundred years has elapsed. The Founders have passed away—Yet they have handed it down to the succeeding generations. They have handed it with the sacred duty to cultivate it that it may grow and develop into a more and more glorious and

bigger institution in the fields of knowledge, education, and culture.

But as a tree for its growth and for its sound development needs good care and protection against evil influences, so it is with Wilberforce University, which is also exposed to open as well as to hidden enemies. Those enemies of our Wilberforce Alma Mater are to be found not only among white men but also among some Negroes, Catholics and Protestants. Black Judas, for the proverbial Biblical 30 silver pieces, for career, for better positions, for power, play the role of treacherous friends and undermine our Wilberforce University. The open white enemies, with many false friends, do not permit our University to grow, to develop, to perform its noble mission. Some Negroes as false friends play the role of those Biblical wolves which, disguised as sheep gradually devour our University, and doing so they also enfeeble the AME Church herself.

Had not our Wilberforce University had so many enemies, so many false friends, it would be today a glorious and powerful institution; it would be for the Negro People what was Athens for the Greeks, and what was and still is Mecca for the Arabian world. It would be a glorious beacon for the whole Negro Race. But black Judas, some treacherous representatives of the Negro Race do not permit our Wilberforce Alma Mater to grow and to prosper. In doing so, the black Judas give our white enemies sufficient grounds for contempt. The white men joyously rub their hands and say: "Look, we always have maintained that the Negro Race is a contemp-

tible race; they do not deserve respect; they are not creative; they even are incapable of securing the normal existence, the normal growth and development of their oldest University."

* * * * *

The Negro People ought always to keep in mind the fact that the eyes of the whole world are turned to Wilberforce University. The Negro People ought to be aware, ought to be cognizant the Wilberforce University is the symbol of their higher spiritual creativeness; that it is the testimony of their higher spiritual fitness; that it is their symbol of DIGNITY, of HONOR.

The Negro People here in the United States ought to remember that the stronger Wilberforce University is the more dignified will be the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and at the same time the more respectful will be the whole Negro People and the African Race in their struggle for Equal Human Dignity. It may be that the time is approaching when the A. M. E. Church will have an opportunity to become the Universal Church of all Negroes here, in Africa, in the whole world.

One hundred years have elapsed since the founding of Wilberforce University, and now we are entering the second century of its existence. We are entering with some pride, but at the same time with the face of the Biblical prodigal son who has squandered a substantial part of its spiritual and material heritage.

* * * * *

It is now time to unfold and hoist up the banner of the Negro People.

What must we do to make Wilberforce University grow and develop? First of all, we must follow the way showed us by its Great Founders, the way of sincerity and devotion in the service of those noble principles upon which it has been founded. All of us churchmen and laymen, men and women, old and young ought to stand together shoulder to shoulder and be faithful guardians of those noble ideas embodied in our Wilberforce Alma Mater. And the American liberal laws will help us in such endeavors. It is not just the liberal spirit of the American laws that will help Wilberforce University. There are also some generous groups of people, even in our vicinity, who already have offered our University a very substantial financial help, provided that the administration of our University and of the AME Church also on their part should display good will and should make an effort to remedy the situation. For instance, in 1954 at the general meeting of the faculty, students, and bishops of the AME Church, Rabbi Rosenthal from Cleveland solemnly declared in the name of the University Foundation that the very same day on which the AME Church pays thirty-five thousand dollars, that is half of the University's indebtedness, the Foundation will pay the other thirty-five thousand. Due to such generous gesture of the Foundation the unique obstacle to our University's accreditation has seemed to be removed. For such generosity the Foundation with Rabbi Rosenthal was heartily applauded by the whole audience.

Here it is necessary once more to

state that the Commission for Accreditation of the North Western Universities Association, having for several weeks carefully examined our University, issued in the year 1951 the official statement that our University completely responds to all requirements for accreditation as far as are concerned as buildings, library, laboratories, equipment, and the faculty; that the sole obstacle to accreditation is the indebtedness of our University, amounting at the time to about seventy thousand dollars, and on the very same day when the University pays the above mentioned sum, the University has the right to be accredited. The author of this pamphlet had the privilege to be present at that meeting in Chicago and to be witness of that statement. Besides, the same statement was repeated by President Hill at a faculty meeting during which time he expressed his own certainty that no later than the next year our University will be accredited.

Thus one may imagine what enthusiasm arose among faculty members and student body when they heard the solemn declaration of the Rabbi Rosenthal.

We all, at least the faculty members and the students, had firmly believed that now the administration of our University as well as of the AME Church will at once, at least in the form of a loan, collect thirty-five thousand dollars, that the Foundation may pay the other thirty-five thousand. Enthusiasm among us professors had been so high that some declared their willingness—in the event the A. M. E. Church will be unable to do so—to grant the University in the form of

a loan, each one thousand dollars and one of our friends living far away from here but a sincere one, ten thousand for at least five years with no interest. In such an atmosphere of devotion to our Wilberforce Alma Mater on the part of the majority of the faculty and of the Negro People we could within a few months, if not a few weeks, have thirty-five thousand dollars in the form of a loan and free our University from the whole indebtedness or from the sole obstacle to accreditation. And once being accredited our University could receive from the generous Ford Foundation *each year* as a grant about \$200,000. What a wonderful reward it would be for the effort, and it was our duty to make such an effort for accreditation.

Alas, the fact that we must state here is the most deplorable events that we know in the whole history both of the AME Church and of Wilberforce University. It is pitiful that many months and even two years have elapsed and neither the administration of our University nor that of the AME Church have made the slightest effort in that direction. Not the slightest gesture of good will has been displayed by them. What more, when one of our faculty members, endowed with a little stronger character and still until now not yet yielding to intimidation on the part of the A. M. E. Episcopacy and administration, interpellated President Hill what he and the AME Church had done in order to materialize the exceptional opportunity created by the generous gesture of University Foundation, the embarrassed President, without

saying a word, adjourned the meeting. And at next faculty meeting the secretary who is in charge of making the official records of all our meetings did not bring the records; since there is a deep-rooted custom of our University that if at the faculty meeting some motions, questions, or remarks are too embarrassing for the University administration the secretary does not insert them in the record book, and consequently to the next meeting he either does not bring the record-book or he himself does not appear.

A few months later the same still not yet being intimidated faculty members again interpellated the President on the same matter, and again with exactly the same result. And in both these cases no one of the present faculty members dared to raise his voice, having been intimidated or having affiliated himself with the same clique hostile to our University.

Had we responded — as we ought to respond — to the munificent generosity of the Foundation we could within a short time be again an accredited institution. And being accredited we could from the equally generous Ford Foundation have had each year in the form of a donation about 200 thousand dollars. But instead of going into the luminous footsteps of the Great Negro Spirits our administration seduced by the lust for power, for political power in the spirit of McCarthyism, has entirely abandoned their sacred duties for which it is well paid, it is paid by the poor Negro People. And that the administration may easier pursue such undignified procedure it creates among

the students and faculty secret informers, whisperers and backbiters. Finally, in order to justify the squandering of the noble spiritual heritage handed us down by the Founders and the wasting of financial resources, administration of our University has now created the "New Wilberforcian philosophy," the new Wilberforcian way of life, namely the philosophy of littleness, the worship both of spiritual, moral and financial dwarfishness. "Blessed are the men of dwarfish spirit" and "blessed is the Wilberforce University because we wasted its money" has become the basic principle of "the religious education" in our Wilberforce University.

Although Commission of Education of the AME Church in November 1956 officially stated that the "Administration of Wilberforce University is like Biblical profligate and indolent son who having squandered all his fortune and good opportunities must now be put under strict supervision and control"—the "Interpreter," the magazine of our University, being the servile tool of the "profligate and indolent" administration, has the cheek to write that the administration has done an excellent job "and we feel we know where we are going." — Very deep is the moral decay of the administration of our University from the bottom to the very top. Indeed, "we know where we are going . . ." There is a proverb: "the fish begins to stink from the head." Thus, here we see again that at the very root of our whole economic, financial crisis there is the moral crisis. The financial crisis of Wilberforce University is consequence of our prolonged

moral crisis which has been brought on by a lack of vigilance on the part of the Negro People, and by our disregard and neglect of the ideals of the AME Church as well as of those of Wilberforce University. Lust for money, lust for power, lust for political power in the ominous spirit of McCarthyism on the part of the University administration and of some bishops play the role of a cancer which destroys our University.

While, the administration on the one side was squandering the financial resources of the University, on the other it ruthlessly exploited the labor of the faculty, and intimidated it by all disponible means. To give merely one instance of such impudent exploitation: since seven years the salaries of our faculty are remaining the same, while the rent for our poor rooms on the campus are being raised 300%. I repeat 300%. At the same time the salary of the very same head of the administration who officially was branded as "prodigal and indolent"—was raised 100%. All that is happening under the "high auspices" of the Episcopacy.

* * * * *

Practically, what more have we to do that Wilberforce University may develop? Among many improvements which for self-comprehensible reasons we cannot present here, we ought to concentrate our efforts on accreditation, and, as we already know, the sole obstacle in this respect is our indebtedness. The indebtedness we ought to pay within one year in order that University may be accredited and in consequence to receive from the generous

Ford Foundation the yearly subsidy of about 200 thousand dollars.

At the same time we should also increase the number of our students. The dormitories of our University are in part unoccupied. Our classrooms are often almost empty. What more, year by year the number of our students is decreasing.

Thus, we can increase the number of our students even without augmenting the number of our instructors. In our closed neighborhood there is a small town Xenia with 20% Negro population. Going along the streets of that Negro ghetto in Xenia we see their poverty, their social and cultural degradation. Out of the about 250 boys and girls at the age between 18-24 years, many are unemployed and without any occupation. A lot of them cherish higher aspirations and wish study in our Wilberforce University. But poverty is for them unbridgeable obstacle. — Why do not take care of them? Why do not admit them to our Wilberforce Alma Mater? All those poor but imbued with higher aspiration boys and girls could become our students, and study either entirely gratis or paying only so much as their poor parents could afford. They should be obligated after having finished their education and having obtained a position, they should according to their possibilities pay the debt of gratitude towards their generous Wilberforce Alma Mater.

On our part, it would be the true brotherly gesture, the true Christian gesture which in future may bring also other rich crops. Who knows? It may happen that some of these jobless and neglected boys and girls

may one day become generous benefactors of our University. — We lose nothing if we admit those poor boys and girls to our often almost empty classrooms.

We can have from Xenia at least 50 or 100 students. They could stay at their homes and every day come by bus (only four miles) to our University and ladle there higher knowledge and higher ideals. The same we may do with our Negro youth from all other neighbouring localities, for instance from Yellow Springs. They may either come by bus or stay in our University's dormitories paying merely for living, while they should be free from fees and other regular financial obligations. The same we may do with our Negro youth of the whole Green County and thus have at least 200 students for whom there is enough space in our classrooms.

In doing so, what a great moral success for Wilberforce University; for the African Methodist Episcopal Church; for the whole Negro People in the United States! Even the whole African Race would be proud of such noble initiative, of such noble activities.

Having achieved this we could easily in the near future build a new dormitory and thus within a few years the number of our students may increase to at least 900 or 1,000. And within the next few years we may have at least 2,000 students.

All that is possible. We need only to have good, strong will to do so. We need only to have the will and spirit of the Great Founders of Wilberforce University. We have to follow their footsteps.

The whole world is looking upon our University. All of Mankind is watching us, is watching our activities, is watching what we do with Wilberforce University, with our noble heritage handed us down by its Founders. Accordingly the world will judge us. It will also judge how high or how low are the creative capabilities of the Negro People in the United States, and how high is developed their consciousness of Human Dignity.

We must work and struggle for the dignity of Wilberforce Alma Mater, which is the spiritual advanceguard, banner and the symbol of NEGRO HONOR, of NEGRO DIGNITY.

—Wilberforce, Ohio

Clement's Comments

(Continued from Page 44)

conomic experts, and technical aid. Time is on her side.

The American Revolution gave birth to the United Colonies, and the United States of America. The War of the Rebellion gave birth to the permanent union, and freedom of the slaves. The recent World War gave birth to India, Ghana, and others. Who knows what the next world upheaval may bring forth? This is a dire contemplation, but think it over. Revolutions never move backward. Earth's peoples are moving up out of darkness into light. The spirit of nationalism is in the air.

"Go now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver are cankered: and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire."

—The Epistle of James

Man is an animal that writes.

—Homer

If we wish to be just judges of all things, let us first persuade ourselves of this: that there is not one of us without fault; no man is found who can acquit himself; and he who calls himself innocent does so with reference to a witness, and not to his conscience.

—Seneca

Education—A debt from present to future.

—Peabody



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RACE AND THE SCHOOLS

A Crisis North and South - - - - -

By AGNES E. MEYER

In her speaking and writing, in her testimony before congressional committees, and in her unflagging zeal for the improvement of the American community, AGNES E. MEYER has come to be recognized as a forthright and trusted authority on our public schools. The idealism which fires this article of hers will be found in two of her recent books, her autobiography, *OUT OF THESE ROOTS*, and her searching philosophical essay, *EDUCATION FOR A NEW MORALITY*.

The greatest single reward I have had as a result of my long and continuous efforts on behalf of our Negro fellow citizens is that we tell one another the truth — a rare achievement between the two races. Just after World War II, I was dining with seven members of the faculty at one of our Negro universities. In the course of conversation a young instructor said to me: "Mrs. Meyer, after Pearl Harbor I couldn't help feeling a secret exultation that a colored race had clobbered the white man." "My friend," I replied, "never forget that despite failures and injustices, Americans have done more for the Negro than any other nation on the face of the globe. We fought a civil war to establish his freedom. Since then thousands of whites in high and low positions have exhibited an interest in the Negro's welfare and development never before shown by a dominant race. On the whole the treatment of the Negro in America constitutes not an indictment but one of the greatest achievements of a democratic nation."

Now that the antics of Governor Faubus are being used as anti-American propaganda throughout

the world, it behooves us to remember this long record. The desegregation of our public schools is a major social revolution. And when have vast social changes ever taken place without creating some regrettable manifestations of resistance? Instead of lamenting over Little Rock, we should emphasize that in the Border States from Maryland to west Texas more than 350,000 Negro children who formerly went to segregated schools have already entered mixed classes.

This is a good beginning. But I am deeply concerned that so few people recognize the extent to which the burden of guiding this major revolution is being thrown upon school boards, administrators, and teachers unprepared for so gigantic a task of social engineering. All this at a time when our schools are already bulging with pupils and our overworked and underpaid teachers are struggling to maintain educational standards in badly equipped schools. Ill-considered, hasty attempts at integration, especially when carried out in impoverished and overcrowded schools, instead of furthering the education of the Negro will surely result in the retardation of all students, white and Negro, and increase rather than alleviate racial tensions.

Before our emotions became overwrought, we were committed to the *expansion and improvement* of our public schools as educational insti-

tutions where the young can learn to live together not as blacks and whites but as American citizens. This is still our first objective. The education of the white child must not be sacrificed for the Negro, nor that of the Negro for the white, or both races will lose and the future of our nation be imperiled.

I shall not argue the right or wrong of a question to which a democratic people can make but one answer. Instead I shall make a plea both to Northerners and Southerners and especially to Negro leaders for moderation in their attitudes toward this difficult problem and in the interpretation of those words, "deliberate speed." The chief responsibility for leadership is still that of the white population. And the Negro should realize, now that the power of the law supports his demands, that he is no longer in the position of an aggressor but of a partner in its orderly implementation.

Exhibit No. 1 of the disastrous effect of trying to do too much too soon is the report of the Commission on Integration accepted by the Board of Education of New York City. Its provisions have been worked out with complete disregard of the effect they would have upon the learning process and the orderly administration of the schools.

The racial situation is complicated in the borough of Manhattan by the fact that 34.5 per cent of its school children are Negroes, 32 per cent Puerto Ricans, and 33.5 per cent others, most of them white. The Subcommittee on Zoning demands that the effects of the segregated residence pattern be mitigated by establishing the objective of racial

integration as a cardinal principle of school zoning. Geographical districts must be ignored and "a clear, positive zoning policy" established "to promote racially balanced schools." It specifies in the paragraphs on high schools that every school ought to reflect the overall school population. In other words, every school in Manhattan should be one-third Negro, one-third Puerto Rican, and one-third white. As more Negroes and Puerto Ricans are pouring into New York every month, both groups would soon predominate over whites in every school.

One gets the impression from this report that the minority group of white children exists only as pawns to achieve what are called "ethnically balanced schools." The schools in Harlem, where the majority of Negroes and Puerto Ricans live, would have empty desks unless white children from distant areas were transported to them. Not only would free bus transportation become an excessive economic burden absorbing funds sorely needed for educational purposes; this merry-go-round of pupil assignment would create administrative havoc, and the business of learning would become secondary to the use of the schools as social laboratories. The chief function of the elementary school as a community-related institution would go out the window. A school district must be a natural neighborhood if the educational process is to reach the child's home. But Edward S. Lewis, executive director of the Urban League, stated that "it is much more important that children go to integrated schools than that the school be conveniently

located," and added that "the neighborhood school idea was being used to camouflage the real issue and need."

In the periphery of concentrated Negro or Puerto Rican areas, whether in Manhattan, Bronx, or Brooklyn, reshuffling of the school population presents few difficulties. In these school districts, Superintendent of Schools William Jansen has announced the desegregation of 5,000 pupils. This has steadily been going on in New York. It is an endless process of readjustment in any large city with heavy Negro concentrations and the steady migration such as is taking place in many of our Northern cities.

It is unjust that the Negroes and Puerto Ricans should be crowded into segregated housing areas. They should be free to live where they can afford to live. But this will take time. To rely upon the schools alone to compensate for this deplorable situation is "impractical, unrealistic and bureaucratic," as the subcommittee report on community relations has the common sense to state. If administrative chaos reigns in the public schools, the education of all children is hampered. The best that can be done to desegregate elementary schools in several Harlem districts is to allow white teachers to teach in Negro schools and the displaced Negro teachers to teach in predominantly white schools. This has in fact been the practice in New York for many years. In other cities with large Negro populations, a firm policy of zoning which allows as much integration as possible on the fringe areas and permits transfers to other

schools in all cases of hardship has been accepted without conflict. In Washington, D. C., in Louisville, in St. Louis, in Baltimore — where desegregation has been carried out firmly and peacefully — there are segregated schools in the midst of segregated housing areas. The extremists among the Negro leaders have expressed dissatisfaction, but the majority of Negro parents acquiesce to the inevitable. Nothing is more disastrous to good race relations in these difficult situations than the conflict between theory and practice which is going on in New York City.

To be sure, most New Yorkers discount the commission's report. They maintain that it will not and cannot be fully implemented. Yet it has had wide publicity, which encouraged Negro and Puerto Rican parents to think that complete integration of the New York City public school system would begin this autumn. When they realized that their hopes were without foundation, about one hundred Negro and Puerto Rican parents expressed their disappointment by picketing near City Hall and demanding that the recommendations of the Board of Education's Commission on Integration be carried out at once.

The New York courts will soon be confronted with this problem. Two cases are before them in which Negro parents from Harlem are suing for the right to send their children to white schools in other areas on the theory that the Supreme Court has pronounced all segregation as unconstitutional. If Negro children are granted the right to go to any school of their choice, the same right

must be allowed white children. The pandemonium that would then ensue in a school population of nearly a million students would defy the administrative capabilities of any superintendent of schools.

That the political pressure of a large Negro vote has influenced the decisions of the New York Commission on Integration is indicated throughout its reports. Nowhere is it more evident than in the discussion by the Subcommittee on Zoning of New York City's fine specialized high schools, which require stiff examinations for admission. At least two of these schools, the Music and Art High School and the Bronx Science High School, have earned a nationwide reputation. All of them have some Negro students but not enough to meet the new requirements of the Zoning Committee that "each high school population should reasonably reflect the ethnic makeup of the over-all High School population." So the committee suggests that "present admission requirements be studied with a view to determining a method to identify potentially able students who have been environmentally disadvantaged." In a footnote it adds that "program adjustment may be necessary for integration." In other words, the special examinations for these superior high schools are to be circumvented and the curriculum adjusted for badly prepared Negroes and Puerto Ricans, although thousands of "environmentally handicapped" white children who could not pass the examination have been refused admittance. Breaking down the standards of these high schools would deprive the bright Negroes

who now go to them, as well as the white children, of an education worthy of their capacities.

In short, educational standards are of no concern to this Commission on Integration. Now is the time, says the report, to concentrate on racial problems. For example, the report on "Guidance, Educational Stimulation and Placement" points out, quite rightly, that a greatly increased budget is needed for specialized guidance services in all the elementary schools. This subcommittee concedes that such services are just as much needed in poor white areas as in Harlem but adds that "the Commission's primary responsibility is confined to Negro and Puerto Rican children." Since most of the white children in Manhattan's public schools belong to low-income groups, the neglect of their needs in favor of non-white children is bound to intensify racial problems.

Teachers also are to be "zoned." They are "to teach where they are needed." This means they can be forced to accept positions in difficult or problem schools in what are described as "high hazard environments." It gives every principal the means for ridding himself of any teacher he happens to dislike. According to the New York Teachers Guild, several principals this autumn did not hesitate to make use of these coercive powers given them by the Commission on Integration. Had the report of the commission suggested higher salaries for teachers who volunteer for difficult schools, coercion could have been avoided. But the morale of the teaching staff was given no more

consideration in the report than the rights of the white students who are to be pushed around arbitrarily to suit the commission's purposes. If the plan for racial zoning goes through to shunt students all over the city by bus, the arbitrary transfer of teachers won't be necessary. Instead of a few difficult schools, they will all be difficult, and the teachers might as well be left where they are.

Because the whole problem of desegregation of New York City's schools has become an important political issue, it is impossible to foresee what may happen. Political leaders of the Northern Negro should make every effort to keep the desegregation problem out of politics. If they use their political power to overaccelerate desegregation regardless of the effect upon the schools, they will injure their cause and hamper the education of their own children as well as that of the whites. As one who has a long record of battles for equal rights for the Negro, I cannot be suspected of intolerance if I argue for an approach to the desegregation of schools in our big Northern cities that will not create havoc with their primary function of education. *Whether in the North or the South, we must not allow the process of desegregation to wreck our public school system.*

If moderation is essential to successful desegregation of our schools in many Northern cities, it is no less imperative in working out the far more difficult problems which confront the school boards and school administrators in the South. Even if the question were not heavily

laden with emotional overtones, it would tax the imagination of the wisest school administrator to work out a successful plan of integration for rural counties along the Atlantic seaboard, or in the Mississippi delta where the Negro population often exceeds that of the whites by a ratio of three or four to one. Moreover in Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana the education of the Negro has been so shamefully neglected in many rural areas for generations that new teaching methods must be devised before these backward Negro children can receive the kind of education they need without sacrificing the progress of the small minority of white children.

One Southern school superintendent states the problem this way: "Wherever the Negro is in the vast majority, a longer preparation of the community, of the teachers, and of the curriculum is necessary if desegregation is to be successful."

Even in the Border States, where the Negro population is not proportionately as heavy, the school superintendents had to proceed slowly. In the city of Louisville, for example, desegregation proceeded peacefully as a result of years of careful preparation, during which a favorable community climate was created. The problem was defined, studied, and discussed within the schools and with the numerous local agencies and institutions. Furthermore, Kentucky, though a Southern state, has a long tradition of toleration. Its university has been a fore-runner in the field of integration in the Southern region. The University of Louisville also set an example of tolerance when it ab-

sorbed the two hundred and seventy students of a small Negro college without difficulty.

But chiefly the successful beginning in the Louisville public school system was due to the foresight of Superintendent of Schools Omer Carmichael. He "stuck out his neck," according to local residents, in a statement which anticipated the Supreme Court's action; he warned that compliance would take from two to five years to be effective and stressed his readiness to accept it as the law of the land. With this well-timed pronouncement, he enlisted the support of all like-minded citizens and crystallized the opinion of the timid and the wavering.

That foresight and careful preparation can result in successful planning even when the Negro pupils constitute a large majority has been demonstrated by school administrators in Washington, D. C. In this city 70 per cent of the student body are Negroes, many of them from superior homes. The school boundaries were redrawn, not as in New York by a separate commission, but by the school principals, both Negro and white, who worked together for the first time with professional objectivity despite a certain amount of race consciousness. A school system which in 1950 would not allow a Negro actor to appear before a white high school assembly, opened its schools in 1954 with Negro and white pupils attending classes together in 73 per cent of the schools, and white and Negro teachers instructing classes in 37 per cent of the schools. There were no serious difficulties. Transfers outside of the child's school district were per-

mitted only in cases of real hardships, mostly of an emotional nature. Despite difficulties of personal adjustment experienced by many parents, pupils, teachers, and officers during the transition period, they rose above their fears and prejudices to do a much better job than they thought they could.

The assimilation of such a large proportion of Negro students without retarding the education of the white children was no easy task. A majority of Negro children on the average are poorer, less well housed, and less healthy than the whites; they lag from two to three years behind white children in scholastic achievement. As the Negro has always suffered from socio-economic and cultural deprivations, these facts do not prove racial inferiority. Yet as facts they must be faced. We cannot ignore the difference in the social backgrounds of the two races, if the schools are to teach children according to their needs and abilities.

Thus the school authorities, with the approval of the bi-racial Board of Education, have worked out a homogeneous grouping at all levels, in order to reduce the range of differences in each class. For the senior high schools this has resulted in a four-sequence curriculum or a four-track system, as it is popularly called. It provides an honor curriculum for the most gifted students, a regular preparatory and a general curriculum for the second and third groups, and basic studies in reading, writing, arithmetic, and social studies for the slow learners. This plan helps the academically retarded children, whether black or white,

to catch up while protecting the scholastic needs of the brighter children of both races. Children in all groups have made remarkable progress as a result of individual instruction in remedial and developmental reading. As the gap between the brightest and the dullest children is just as wide among white children, even though more of them can qualify for the "honors" and college preparatory groups, this is the kind of plan which our educators should have devised long ago, not merely to achieve the utmost development of the gifted, but to give each child the kind of education best suited to his capacities. To condemn such homogeneous grouping as undemocratic is sheer nonsense, since it provides genuine equality of opportunity. As the Negro children predominate in the group containing the slowest learners in the Washington schools, some Negro leaders objected to the four-track system as "resegregation." Yet the progress made by their children has reconciled most of the Negro parents.

That problems of social adjustment in the Washington schools are varied and serious, there is no doubt. But these do not fall within the scope of this article.

Perhaps the greatest danger to the public school system is the legislation passed in four states, Virginia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Georgia, to close the schools rather than allow one Negro child to enter a white school. Even the White Citizens Councils might hesitate to support such a radical proposal if they realized that it would not only jeopardize the agricultural

and industrial future of their states but could weaken the nation's economy and our military defense.

The public school has always been the mainstay of our social and industrial fabric. But today it has an increased and vital importance in our complex, interrelated technological society, due to our need for more and more highly trained people. Education is now *the prime function of the modern state*. The serious defeat we suffered when the Russians launched their satellites has belatedly awakened us to this elementary truth.

For the first time in our history we are running short not only of scientists, engineers, and technologists but of the brain power required to maintain and develop our massive and infinitely complex industrial organization. We need this educated man power, and the source of supply begins in the public schools! The colleges and universities, with the help of our progressive industrialists, are now doing their utmost to make up the deficit, but we cannot educate enough trained people by a crash program at the college level. Due to the neglect and impoverishment of our public school system, the nation, it is estimated, still plows under something like one half of its latent talent and potential leadership.

And yet in the face of this dire need, four Southern governors seriously contemplate closing the public schools rather than accept desegregation! The mere possibility of such irresponsible action is already affecting the schools in many Southern communities. The best teachers, both white and Negro, are being frighten-

ed away. The Southern Negroes are migrating to the North and West in ever great numbers, especially from the agricultural areas. The South is even now importing skilled workers from the North. Unless it improves its public school system and gives both Negroes and whites the same opportunity to develop their abilities and personalities, the South will retard the industrial development which has given it such prosperity since World War II.

Education is a continuous process. It cannot be turned off and on like a water faucet. The public school system took more than a century to build, but it could be ruined in a short time. Its interruption even in four states would create a cultural gap that could not be repaired for years. The effects of mass migrations from the South to other sections of the country would create a multitude of problems impossible to foresee in their full dimensions. But this much is clear. The whole nation, involved in domestic turmoil, would be vulnerable to the "peaceful victory" which the Russians anticipate.

Where political and business leaders understand the relationship of education to industrial production, desegregation is being accomplished without opposition. In West Virginia, for example, there has been no friction. It is significant that Little Rock's substantial citizens — its bankers, industrialists, and its liberal political leaders like Congressman Brooks Hays—did their best to avoid racial tensions which would make Northern businessmen reluctant to risk more capital investments in their city and state. Such leaders

are aware that gradual but steady desegregation will be conducive to prosperity not only for the South but for the nation. They can surely enlist the support of "the silent South," those who are opposed to desegregation in principle but are opposed to violence and mob rule. They can also win the support of the Southern working people who do not favor integrated schools but would not be willing to sacrifice their constantly improving living standards.

Can it be done? Can we absorb millions of Negro children, many of them retarded, into our schools and at the same time improve the educational process for both races? Only if the American conscience is aroused and responds to the enormity of the problem. Large amounts of money will be needed by the states and communities to make a success of integration: We shall need more classrooms, smaller classes wherever possible, better school equipment, health programs, and auxiliary services, more and better - trained teachers, and psychiatric consultants and guidance experts aware of the stresses and strains to which the children, their parents, and the teachers themselves are exposed, especially during the transition period.

Skilled personnel in such numbers obviously cannot be produced overnight. The size of the problem that confronts us is alarming, and its very complexity tells us that progress is bound to be slow, especially in the plantation states of the South and in our big Northern cities where the Negro population is heaviest.

In the underprivileged communi-

ties, the school program will have to be supplemented by recreational facilities, especially for teen-agers, where Negroes and whites can learn to play together and by closer cooperation between the schools and the homes through a staff of visiting teachers. For the child's environment is far more educational than the school, as our rates of crime and delinquency have long demonstrated. Actually one of the most valuable by-products of desegregation will be the revelation of our unrealized, unmet educational needs. As these inadequacies are uncovered, it is to be hoped that community pressure will result not only in greater local and state tax support but in strong political pressure for federal aid to our public schools.

There are certain aspects of desegregation which we must all keep in mind.

Free and honest discussion between Negro and white community leaders has become more, rather than less, difficult, especially in the South, because the races have temporarily been drawn farther apart as a result of turbulence and conflict. It would be well, therefore, if the Northern people would concentrate on their own serious problems of desegregation instead of pointing the finger of scorn. It is hypocritical to pretend that racial intolerance is confined to the South, or that the North's part in this mighty experiment is less difficult. The self-righteousness of Northern liberals is just so much added fuel to the fires of Southern intolerance.

The calm deliberation of Negro leadership is urgently needed at this critical juncture when the emotional

situation could improve or degenerate so rapidly. In several conversations with Negro intellectuals and officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, I had the impression that the Negro leaders themselves cannot agree on what they wish to achieve. In one Southern city which had done an admirable job of desegregation, even to the point of granting all students complete freedom of choice as to which school they preferred to attend, none of the local Negro leaders was satisfied with the "permissiveness," as it is called, although the Negro parents were contented. All the leaders were critical of the Negro teachers who urged their pupils, especially the bright ones and the good athletes, to remain in the Negro schools. Another disappointment to these Negro leaders was the fact that numerous Negro children after attending the white schools for a year chose to return to their segregated schools. In other words the permissiveness for which the Negroes are fighting in New York City is anathema to the Negro leaders in cities that have adopted it. After one such lengthy discussion, in which I was the only white person, I said: "If God Almighty came down from heaven to do this desegregation job none of you would be satisfied with it." My friends laughed heartily and agreed.

I believe that the Negro leaders who are pressing for immediate and radical desegregation are too unaware of its effects upon the schools and of the tensions to which it exposes the Negro child. They are too indifferent to the human prob-

lem involved. If retarded Negro children are demoted when they are transferred to a white school, this has a discouraging effect. If they are not demoted, many Negro children leave the white schools when they find they cannot keep up with their age group. Even under the most favorable conditions, such as those I have described in Louisville and Washington, the pressure on the Negro child confronted for the first time with a strange environment, higher achievement standards, and new social or cultural values is hard to bear for all but the most courageous and talented.

The teachers and the Negro parents are keenly aware of these psychological problems, but the leaders of the NAACP ignore them in deciding their policies. If the interests of the Negro child were more of an influence on these leaders, they would not persist in aggressive tactics in Southern counties where the predominance of Negro population makes the task of

desegregation an extremely difficult social, psychological, and educational problem.

The words "deliberate speed" clearly indicate that the Supreme Court Justices did not insist upon immediate, drastic enforcement of their decision. These words are the equivalent of the Roman adage *festina lente*, make haste slowly. In a democracy, sound progress has never come about in any other way.

—THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY

The country life is preferred, for there we see the whole works of God; but in cities, little else but the works of men; and the one makes a better subject for our contemplation than the other. . . .

The country is both the philosopher's garden and library, in which he reads and contemplates the power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

—William Penn

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FREE SCHOOLS IN A FREE AMERICA

What the Churches Have Said on the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation in the Schools

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

"Be it resolved, that . . . (we) commend the Supreme Court for this far-reaching decision and urge the support and co-operation of our entire constituency in its implementation."

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

" . . . Recommending to our far-flung constituency of more than 723,000 people at 44 Annual Conferences in Continental United States active co-operation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders and people to contribute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American life."

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"We commend the United States Supreme Court in its historic decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public education. . . . We urge American Baptists to increase their opposition to other areas of segregation — housing, employment, recreation, church participation. We urge local churches to carry forward educational programs dealing with this issue, and we propose co-operation with other Christian bodies of like mind."

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

"We note with appreciation all recent steps made in the direction of elimination of segregation, including the decision of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution as opposing segregation in the public schools. We appeal to our Brethren to lead out in effecting these social changes in every area of life."

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

"This is the Christian way. This is the American way. This is a nation of law respecting, law abiding citizens. It is to be expected that all of us who are concerned with the issues of the Court's declaration shall possess our souls in all Christian sobriety, dignity, fortitude, patience and tolerances as, under God's guidance, we seek to discover the most practical formulas for the achievement of nation-wide conformity to the decision."

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN

WHEREAS the Supreme Court of the United States has declared segregation in tax-supported accommodations and services, including public schools, to be contrary to the Constitution,

"BE IT RESOLVED that we recommend that local churches where segregation has prevailed, move toward ways in which they and all churches can open their

membership to all persons on a simple basis of faith and character, and that we call upon Congregational Christian colleges, agencies, associations, conferences and institutions to practice non-segregation and non-discrimination in enrollment, employment, church extension and church conservation, and organization.

"BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon all Americans to undertake timely and tolerant implementation of the Supreme Court decision, and that our Department of Race Relations and the Council for Social Action carry forward such activities as would develop public support for the Supreme Court decision."

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

"BE IT RESOLVED: that we approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, to re-examine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive, community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies.

"That we likewise urge our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, in a spirit of reconciliation to teach forbearance, patience, and generosity on both sides as we attempt to work out the problem of the Disciples of Christ and racial segregation."

EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN

"We express our gratitude for the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that segregation 'in the public schools is unconstitutional.' We urge our church members to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for implementing the Supreme Court's decision. We call upon our church members to co-operate with the authorized agencies in their communities as effective means for accomplishing racial integration in the public school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character."

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

"The General Synod remembers in love and understanding the fellow Christians of both races in those areas of our country where tensions are most severe, and it is not un mindful that reconciliation as well as reformation is a part of our Christian witness. Yet General Synod cannot but support the principle of integration and urges full support of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States outlawing segregation in the public schools; General Synod urges pastors and members of our congregations to lend their moral support to integration and to support constructive programs toward integration in their communities. Further, General Synod deplores attempts to evade the decision of the Supreme Court by means which weaken and undermine the public school."

METHODIST

"The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community readjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands."

PRESBYTERIAN, US

"Having in mind the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly (1954) commends the principal of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim."

PRESBYTERIAN, USA

"We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court, ruling that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional — with humility because action by our highest court was necessary to make effective that for which our Church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity.

"We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court's decision.

"We call upon the members of our churches to co-operate with civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, and community councils as effective means for the accomplishment of racial integration in the public school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character, insisting that teachers as well as pupils be accorded full opportunity within the school system on the basis of interest, ability, and merit, without reference to race."

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

"The Court's ruling is more than a matter of law and order . . . it is also a matter of religious faith and democratic principles. . . . Judged in the light of Christian principles . . . the Court's decision is just, right and necessary.

"We thank God for the new and rich opportunity for health and healing which the decision has opened up, and for the hope this brings to people all over the world. . . .

"We thank God also that through His Holy Spirit, He has put it into the hearts of many to undertake voluntarily to remove these barriers between the children of our land. These efforts have demonstrated that the decision is as workable in practice as it is sound in principle. It is true and it works."

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"... we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.

"... we commend the Supreme Court for deferring the application of the principle both as to time and procedure until the nation shall have had time to work out methods by which transition from the present practice may be effected.

"... we urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; that we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; that we may exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship."

UNITED LUTHERAN

"The ULCA, recognizing its deep involvement in the moral crisis confronting the USA in the current controversy over desegregation occasioned by the Supreme Court decision... calls upon all its congregations and people, exercising Christian patience and understanding, to work for the fullest realization of the objectives of that statement.

"We believe that Christians have special responsibilities to keep open the channels of communication and understanding among the different groups in this controversy. Our con-

gregations are encouraged to contribute to the solution of the problem by demonstrating in their own corporate lives the possibility of integration."

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN

"We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm:

1. That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth.

2. That He is no respecter of persons.

3. That men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege.

"In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education."

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

"Because of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus, we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the inclusiveness of Christian fellowship. Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit.

"We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principle of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals.

"We believe that the best solutions to our many problems can be reached when people of all races work together toward a common end, and we urge women to make every effort to bring together individuals in free discussion.

"We are all charged with the responsibility of the training and nurture of children and youth. We pray God's guidance upon us as we seek to shape right attitudes in the home, in the church, in the school, and in all areas of life in which we move.

"We desire to build Christian emotional maturity to meet the new challenges to our patience, understanding, and creative action."

—This statement was adopted by the representatives of the Christian Social Relations Department of United Church Women from 15 Southern states, meeting in conference in Atlanta, Ga., on June 21, 1954.

"The message of the Christian faith is to bring wholeness to life, and the road to be traveled is long. The world is not whole; in many places it is broken into tiny fragments—broken by us who are its citizens. While we often give lip service to the dignity and worth of all God's children, we frequently deny to minority groups in every state of the United States the rights and privileges enjoyed by the majority. This inevitably links us with all those other countries which are faced with the consequences of a refusal to accept all persons as the children of God, destined to be free and to enjoy wholeness of life.

"We recognize that our domestic

policies and practices with regard to human rights are inevitably interwoven with our foreign policy. Upon all of us as church women and as Christian citizens lies the responsibility so to act that all groups within our communities will be assured of equality of opportunity, freedom from fear, and equal justice before the law."

—From resolutions of the Cleveland Assembly, November 1955

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

"The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-flung effects in the whole nation and the world. . . .

" . . . In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood."

—THE CHURCH WOMAN

The Review

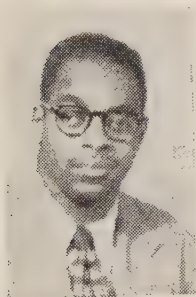
BOOK-SHELF



Meanderings Of a Book Worm

By CASPER LeROY JORDAN
Chief Librarian, Wilberforce

MASTERS OF DECEIT: THE STORY OF COMMUNISM IN AMERICA AND HOW TO FIGHT IT. By J. Edgar Hoover. N. Y. Holt and Co., 1958. \$5.00 374 pp.



Casper L. Jordan time from his terribly busy life as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to write this book.

Beginning with a brief look at the development of Marxism in Europe, he traces its growth in the United States and analyzes its appeal, its organization and its activity in this country. He presents examples of various types of Communist adherence: full member, concealed member, fellow traveller, "opportunist" and, finally, the "dupe," the deceived citizen who unwittingly works for the party. He relates how the party is organized, and how it re-

The author bases this informal study of American communism on the premise that the party is a clear and present to us today. If Mr. Hoover did not regard it with deadly seriousness, he would have hardly taken

time from his

quires discipline of its members. His own strongly religious orientation repeatedly comes out in the emphasis he places on a connection between adherence to communism and the lack of a personal religious belief.

There is at times a naive and at times slightly dated quality to the books, which, he admits is written "in almost primer form." It is dated because America communism is dated, with no toe-hold in government, labor, press, and significant area of American life. Mr. Hoover recognizes the necessity for a positive approach in the struggle against communism when he states that what we basically need is "renewed zeal to work untiringly to uphold the ideals of justice and liberty."

Communism must be constantly guarded against. Most of us have enough confidence in Mr. Hoover's highly efficient FBI to feel quite certain that the handful of Communists in our country offers little genuine menace to America.

PURELY ACADEMIC. by Stringfellow Barr. N. Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1958, \$3.95, 304 pp.

A veteran observer in the academic circles of America, Barr has bitter and comical things to state about American college education—anyone reading this book can picture his own ALMA MATER. They make this sadistically satirical novel both funny and appealing. **PURELY ACADEMIC** may cause laborer in such vineyards to look nervously

over his shoulder. Mr. Barr's experience at the Universities of Virginia and Chicago and at Rutgers, and presidency of St. John's College makes him an authority on such subjects as college teachers, trustees, curriculum planning, the role and nature of department heads, and the influence of foundations.

The scene is a nameless Midwestern campus. President Pomton is simultaneously maneuvering for a foundation grant and the presidency of a larger university. Various faculty members are jockeying to snatch the hoped-for grant exclusively for their own departments; two of them are scheming to succeed Pomton if he gets his job.

Mr. Barr treats the head of the history department, Prof. Henry Schneider, with sympathy. While worrying about his own department he is an ironic observer of the battles. He proposes the academic motto, IN SNAFU LADORAMUS.

Mr. Barr's plot contains much zany mish-mash. It features a love encounter as absurd as the titles of the doctoral theses in his parody of all commencements. No where does the book offer a contrast, to make clear that the book is not an attack upon education, but upon BAD education.

In any case (in the midst of our laughter), we are brought up by the sobering thought that these are some of the people in whose hands a hysterically conceived, sputnik-inspired crash program of education may be placed. It is a chilling thought.

'IN GOD WE TRUST': THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND IDEAS OF THE AMERICAN FOUNDING

FATHERS. Selected and edited by Norman Cousins. N. Y.: Harper, 1958, \$5.95, 464 pp.

The belief has persisted, says Cousins, that the major leaders of the American Revolution and the drafters of the Constitution "were essentially agnostics or atheists." This belief was fondly cherished during the nineteenth Century among the more evangelical denominations, which, while accepting the First Amendment, strive to dominate the mind and morale of the Republic by the sheer vehemence of unofficial fervor.

Mr. Cousins attempts to refute this "fallacy" by an anthology of extracts from Franklin, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Samuel Adams, Jay and Tom Paine. These sufficiently establish the fact that not one of the men was an atheist, not even Tom Paine. Sam Adams was the nearest to what we might call orthodox. The others entertained a piety, but in the broad tolerant, rational and often derivative terms of the Enlightenment.

Nineteenth Century Evangelicals were correct in regarding the Founders as being what Adams called "scanty" Christians. They were not French materialists, but they were not what the majority of church going Americans would ever consider religious, let alone Christian.

Mr. Cousins' bit of sophomoric commentary is an insult to the majesty and solidity of his quotations. And I suspect that Mr. Cousins' effort is profoundly misguided. It is an opportunistic response to a current tendency. He strives to establish the Christian respectability of

(Continued on Page 83)

THE REVIEW

PULPIT



Text of the Sermon delivered by
the Reverend **EDWARD L. R. EL-
SON**, Pastor, the National Presby-
terian Church, Washington, D. C.,
on Sunday, October 20, 1957.

"The Way of The Peacemaker"

*"Blessed are the peacemakers, for
they shall be called the children of
God."* —Matthew 5:9

Jesus Christ entered the life of man under the starry idealism of a celestial anthem "Peace on earth among men of good will." As His public career was closing He made a promise to His followers, "Peace I leave with you. . . . My peace I give unto you." His peace was His only legacy.

At the height of Jesus' teaching, He drew His disciples aside to the slopes of a mountain and exclaimed, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Those words are found in that familiar cluster of Beatitudes which set forth the qualities of the kingdom of God. Perhaps no other Beatitude which we have studied in this series has such current urgency.

Jesus Christ did bring peace to man. He first brought peace to the soul. His peace was the peace of for-

giveness. "Thy sins be forgiven thee; go thou and sin no more," He said. His peace brought unification to the warring elements in human personality. "Be thou made whole," He said, and jaded and jangled inner conflicts were healed. His peace meant reconciliation with God. The apostle put it clearly in that Magna Charta of evangelical faith, the fifth chapter of Romans, "God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us . . . when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son." And Jesus brought reconciliation between men torn from each other's fellowship by deep-seated pride, resentment and hostility. That was the burden of Paul's message to the Ephesians when he wrote, ". . . He is OUR PEACE, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances that he might create in himself ONE NEW MAN in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both TO GOD, in one body through the Cross, thereby bringing hostility to an end. And he came and PREACHED PEACE to you who were afar off and peace to those who were near: for through Him we BOTH have access in our Spirit of the Father." (Ephesians 2:

14-18). The New Testament is clear on this point. Jesus Christ came into the world to deliver man from his perverseness, to accomplish his forgiveness, to reunite him with his Creator, to make him by rebirth of the spirit, a new man in Christ, and thus to put his soul at peace.

It is significant that this Beatitude follows immediately the blessings of the pure in heart who are to see God. "The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable." Serenity of soul issues from purity of the personality.

So Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." He did not say "Blessed are the PEACE-WISHERS," or "Blessed are the PACIFISTS." He was quite emphatic. "Blessed are those who MAKE peace."

The Beatitudes are part of the Sermon on the Mount in which Jesus teaches His disciples to pray, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The ultimate loyalty of the Christian is to God as made known in Christ. The supreme commitment of the Christian is to the kingdom of God and the doing of God's will. The chief end of life is the rule of God in the hearts of men and in man's world. The peace of the Christian is that of the kingdom of God which is both in time and beyond time.

The peace of quietude or the peace which is only the absence of overt conflict is not the peace to which the Christian aspires. For the qualities of the kingdom of God are related to the character of God; love and justice, truth and righteousness, freedom and human dignity are higher claims than tranquility. They precede and are above the demand

of peace. Absolute pacifism, in the sense of the absence of any force, or the elimination of all violence is Christian only as the prior claims of love and justice, truth, and freedom are also absolute.

Our Lord has called those who work for peace "blessed." Yet the way of the peacemaker is hard. Peace-making is an evidence of strength, not weakness; of verity not supineness. Peace-making emanates from the love of God. It arises most effectively in those whose sense of justice, of truth, and of righteousness is highest. The peacemaker is not provocative, moves with a gentle firmness, pleads with the persuasiveness of love, seeks first to know and to do God's will among men. Peace-making is an active pursuit. The peacemaker is strong, vigorous, and crusading. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

The question of war between nations does not appear in the New Testament. Christians were then a small sect in a Roman empire unthreatened by any other power. Yet in the New Testament obedience to authority is enjoined. Christians were to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's. And the duty of Caesar is to protect those committed to him.

Primitive Christians did not participate in government. Nor did they carry the responsibilities of high public office. But with expansion of the Church and the winning of the nations to Christ it became the responsibility of Christians to order their own lives and to preside over the destiny of nations. The responsibilities of citizenship and rulership

brought a new dimension in the Christians' relation to Christ and the kingdom. Christians found themselves in the world of reality, in the world of sinful men and secular societies, full of complex situations. As they were no longer insulated from responsibility to the totality of life, the greater was the strain upon their higher loyalty to Christ and His Kingdom.

As a person dedicated to peace and serving a God of love, justice, and holiness, tensions inevitably arose in the thoughtful and responsible Christian. In the role of peacemaker in this kind of world there has been a tension in the Christian conscience since the time Christianity emerged from obscurity to become a pervasive force in the world.

The Christian conscience has been tormented for centuries with the problem of how to be a peacemaker in a warring, sin-corrupted society. How can he serve the kingdom of God and yet live in the kingdom of man? How can the Christian come to Christian conclusions and take Christian actions?

Some have tried to resolve particular situations by asking the simple question, "What would Jesus do?" That helps a man search his soul, purge his inner life, evaluate his motives, but it does not necessarily bring a Christian to a Christian conclusion. Asking what Jesus would do in a particular situation may help also to avoid a selfish act, assist in withholding an angry retort, and soften personal relations with magnanimity and compassion, but it does not solve the problem because we are not Jesus. Nor is our vocation the vocation of Jesus. The

sublime act on Calvary is cheapened by the assertion that Calvary is the pattern for every Christian life. The offering on Calvary could be made only by one such as Christ the Son of God. **THERE IS AND CAN BE ONLY ONE WORLD REDEEMER.** Jesus did not ask the disciples to join Him on the other crosses but to take up crosses of their own. Jesus was and He remains utterly unique. We are not called to be **CHRIST** for we are not Christ. We are called upon to exercise all our powers to extend His kingdom in the world. That kingdom has not yet fully come. It is eternal and is to be established. God's kingdom is promoted only by His followers doing everything in their power to establish justice, truth, and righteousness which are rooted in the character of a God of love; and on the other hand to oppose by every necessary means the sins of injustice, falsehood, indignity, tyranny, truculent cruelty, and strident godlessness which obstruct the fulfillment of the kingdom of God. We dare not compromise with evil, yet in upholding the qualities of the kingdom there is always the possible use of force. Force cannot make bad men good, but force can limit the scope and extent of his evil plans.

Peace-making for the Christian is and will be a hard role. The Christian lives in the world, is part of it, yet he envisions another world in which God rules in the hearts of men and over man's affairs. Absolute pacifism, the refusal not to fight under any circumstances is irresponsibility in the social order. Absolute pacifism distorts the con-

cept of love because it tries to apply an individual ethic to a collective situation. It attempts to apply personal perfectionism in social dimensions. Pacifism can become a selfish refusal to assume responsibility or escape suffering. That which is the will of God for a mature Christian or for a small Christian group and that which is the will of God for a spiritually miscellaneous nation, may not be the same thing. In accepting death for himself Jesus took pains not to involve a group as spiritually committed as His disciples. "Jesus said to his captors, I have told you that I am He: if therefore ye seek Me, let these go their way." (John 18:8)

In our age the threat of destruction from atomic or nuclear power heightens the criminal irresponsibility of aggressors. Likewise the moral obligation to discourage such a crime, or deny its victory increases the agony of the Christian soul. How much power to employ and when to use it in support of justice is the tragic dilemma of our age. How to use force for moral ends is the most searching concern of the responsible Christian who would be a peace-maker.

Worse than war-mongering is peace-mongering—careless and irresponsible talk about peace. To talk about peace unrelated to moral principles is as dangerous for world order as saber-rattling and scowls at international borders.

We Christians want peace. We will work for peace and sacrifice for peace. But we do not want peace at any price. If the price of peace is forsaking our heritage of faith in God, we will reject it. If the price

of peace is injustice, we will reject it. If the price of peace is living in an island surrounded by threats of the morally irresponsible, we will reject it. If the price of peace is forfeiting freedom under God, we will reject it. If the price of peace means spiritual denial or abandonment of the principles which pertain to the Kingdom of God, then we will reject it. For God is the sovereign ruler of a moral universe and even though we may only partially serve Him ourselves, we cannot as Christians forsake what He has revealed to us as being the essence of His kingdom.

God gives to each age and to each person resources of mind and heart with which to confront and serve the particularities of his own age. Each individual must make the highest possible Christian decision in the light of all factors in any given situation. Seeking to discover the will of God by the Holy Spirit's guidance is the only way. The only Christian perfection that is applicable in this kind of world is perfection in a moral choice between the possible alternatives.

How can we have wisdom and moral strength except as it is given to us by God? That is why we must go to Him incessantly in humility and surrender.

During the most dismal days of World War II, Dr. William Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury, made a daring declaration. He said, "this world can be saved from political chaos and collapse by one thing only and that is worship." We see what this statement means for peacemaking when we ponder his definition of worship. "To Worship is to quick-

en the conscience by the HOLINESS of God, to feed the mind with the TRUTH of God, to purge the imagination by the BEAUTY of God, to open the heart to the LOVE of God, to devote the will to the purpose of God."

Righteousness is the soil from which peacemaking springs. If more of us would get on our knees more frequently before God in worship, fewer men might die on their feet as soldiers.

Peacemakers need more than good advice, more than fan mail, and the clever slogans of their friends. They need God and the place to find Him in the searching, refinding, and reinforcing experience of worship. Then only are we fit to serve God and His righteousness. Then only will we comprehend the accolade of the Master's Beatitude: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

(The Sermon was delivered on the occasion of the visit of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II when she attended church services with President Eisenhower).

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The Christian Drama

By DR. GARDNER TAYLOR

"For if we have been planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection." Romans 6:5.

Sitting in a telephone booth in New York City, I heard a man's voice in the next booth. The drift of his conversation indicated that he was talking to his girl friend. Finally this graphic sentence came through the thin walls of the adjoining booth "Honey, the merry-go-round done broke down."

Is that a description of our western civilization? Has the bright dream of human dignity for all men now been dissipated by the rapacity and sinfulness of our society's standards? Are we in the twilight of a day that dawned bright and hopeful for the sons of men—a day whose glistening sunrise brought promise of liberty and equality—the brotherhood of man? Has the old western ideal of integrity and honor now been laid by the acids of modernity, the brittle creed that a man does not matter in terms of what he is, but in terms of what he has, or what is the color of his skin?

Walter Lippmann says that our society here in the western world is not wounded, not battered under the assault of its enemies from without. He says our society is sick, suffering with internal diseases. Instead of recognizing the Old Testament assertion that "all of life is bound in the bundle of life," we have separated humanity according to crass human standards, for the

satisfaction of our pride and prejudice. Bereft of a Master-sense of God in our lives, we have forgotten who we are because we have forgotten whose we are.

Our society, sore stricken, separated, needs the influence of a new sense of spirituality, of the authentic word and will and way of God. We are far-country prodigals, starving beside pig-stys, and destined never to be whole again until we are back at Father's House, remembering that "The Lord has been our dwelling place in all generations," setting ourselves to His will and His way, obedient to His impulses, thinking His thoughts after Him, dreaming of a fairer, juster world as our rightful heritage and our obvious birthright.

The New Testament, face to face with a hard-bitten, metallic culture such as ours, confronted the world with an almost unbelievable, radiant faith. If Rome was the society of the Crown, the early Christians were the society of the Cross. It was the meeting of two mutually contradictory ways of life. One, Rome's, was haughty, the other, Christ's, was humble. Rome's society was founded on success, Christ's way was built on service. The followers of Rome believed in the power of arms and sword: the followers of Christ believed in the power of the spirit of righteousness. One was power-centered, the other was personality-centered.

The writer of Romans set down in brief compass the faith of true Christians in the way which Christ chose. In one startling sentence that reverses the verdict of the world this believer declared, "If we have been

planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection." The "likeness of His death" describes the way of His life, the nature of His earthly end. It is a summation of the central commitment of the life of Jesus which has thrilled and haunted twenty centuries.

The "likeness of His death" represents, surely, his refusal to rely on any earthly weapon, the apparent shame and disgrace with which His career ended. That unknown lyricist whom we call the Second Isaiah was true to the spirit of Christ. "Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? For he shall grow up before Him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground; he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see Him there is no beauty that we should desire Him. He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. . . . He was despised and we esteemed Him not. Surely He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows, yet we did esteem Him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. He was oppressed and He was wounded, yet he opened not His mouth. He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before his shearers is dumb. He was taken from prison and from judgment. And who shall declare His generation?" Thus the poetry of Calvary's stark shame and fatal bruise. The likeness of His death represents the way of commitment of a life to faith in the moral integrity of the universe. Jesus went to His Calvary believing that His way would be certified and guaranteed by God.

Such must be the faith of Christians! The moment we stop believing that there is a power not our own which makes for righteousness we have suspended our participation in the life of Christ. What else has kept us firm against overwhelming odds? Far back in the slave quarters our fathers hummed softly in the twilight the words, "I'm so glad trouble don't last always. O my Lord, what shall I do?" The wail of Israel's ancient cry was on their hearts, "Let my people go." The cry is still heard in the land.

We are committed in Montgomery to the faith that righteousness finds its way to resurrection by facing its Calvary. Here some people, "not many mighty, not many noble," not entrusted their lives and their fortunes and their honor not to the arms of men, but to the sword of the spirit. Here a man and men with giant souls in youthful bodies have led some people toward the way of Calvary, for the justification of many. Here some people of humble origin, but with a sense of high destiny, have challenged the conscience of the world.

The likeness of his death, the way of commitment to the moral sanity of the universe, the way of reliance upon God's word and God's promises is never a way of particularism, for the special benefits of any one segment of the society. Jesus did not go to His Calvary for disciples alone. He died as surely for Pilate as He died for Peter. He died as surely for the centurion who plunged the spear in His side as He did for Mary Magdeline who poured her gratitude at His feet. Jesus died as surely for Rome as He died for Galilee and

Judea. Jesus died as surely for those who jammed the reed in mockery of a scepter in His hand, as surely for those who threw an old barracks blanket around His shoulder to mock a regal robe, as He did for those simple souls who filled the air with their hosannas and His path with their palms. The word is writ as large as the Gospel "God so loved the world, He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

It behooved some gallant souls to take a Cross for the redemption of our republic and this southland to its true dignity, destiny and decency. We would read wrong the Christian way were we to believe or so to bear ourselves as to give the imings of God's hand must suffer for ourselves alone. Someone must save the nation, someone or some people of vision whose hearts are open to the winds of God's will, whose eyes are open to the beckonings of God's hand must suffer for the nation's salvation. All the people of this city and section and nation are God's people. Who else could travel the steep, red way of Calvary but those who by bitter plight of circumstance have not known the sins which are nigh inevitable in any majority people. "And He made His grave with the rich in His death; because He had done no violence, neither was any deceit in His mouth. Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise Him; He hath put Him to grief and He was numbered with the transgressors; and He bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors."

There is in the Christian drama

the downward plunge to apparent defeat, and the pained period of waiting to see the result of it all. We must never forget that our Lord Christ did not on Friday die and find victory on the same day. At least the victory was not placarded before the world, or for even the eyes of faith to see. The church rightly shrouds its altar in black during the period between the Black Friday of crucifixion and the Bright Sunday of resurrection. There is a spiritual which runs "You can't hurry God, why don't you wait, my Brother." The commitment must be made, and we must leave the rest to God. The seed must be planted, and though we till the soil, we must wait in that agony of suspense between seed-time and harvest.

I do not know why truth and righteousness are not immediately vindicated and justified. It may well be that the 'powers of darkness' are not routed with the snapping of a finger. Jesus gave full allowance for the strength of wrong, the power of entrenched evil, as soldiers laid their hands on his innocent person, to lead him away. Said he, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness." I do not know why redemption costs so much—in blood and sweat and shame and suspense—unless it be that evil is a mighty foe, "a strong man armed who keepeth his goods." I only know that when God got ready, as Gossip says, to turn a world free from sin's awful bondage, it took God giving all of God's all. I do not know why the way of men's social redemption must be lined in blood and sorrow. I only know there is no other way. No Cross, no crown. No pain, no birth.

No suffering, no salvation. No pain, no peace. Such is the law of our universe, or Christ would not have died.

Those across this land who have made their commitment to the Christian way of sacrifice and hazard for the saving of the nation are going through a dark and fearful night of waiting and uncertainty and horror—here and yonder. To some it must appear unbearable, the burden insuperable. And yet peering through the tortured night waiting for the morning to come, searching the skies for some sign of approaching dawn, we are confident that God makes His universe to turn on axles of Justice.

But it were vain to imagine, even in the period of waiting and suspense, that the tides of the universe ceased to flow, that God was absent, silent or inactive. Even though the scriptures pull a veil over much of Calvary and the interval of our Lord's time in the grave and shut it from human gaze, as if it is too reverent for human view, still the scriptures suggest that the Father was at work. Judas flinging his silver and his life away more tragic testimony in his death to the power of God to work in human situations. Simon, whose base denial had added to the weight of Calvary, was likewise plastic to the workings of God's Grace. His bitter tears dropped as testimony that the Father who worked hitherto works still. The valiant commitment of Jesus's life wrung from unbelieving lips, even while He died, the blurted cry of the centurion, "Truly, this was the Son of God." If no other words of committal were uttered over the Lord's life-

less body, then let the centurion's words be his well-earned eulogy. Many that day, we can safely believe, saw and believed and, while afraid to speak, their hearts were turned toward God's throne. Surely as Friday's lights go out, humble men and plain women standing near the silent hill searched their souls and were touched by this deed of sacrifice.

Make no mistake! Beyond your ken of understanding, even while you wait for the resurrection faith to be reasserted, things are happening. By what has happened here the world's conscience is a little more sensitive to the whispers of God. Here in Montgomery behind shutters and in rooms of which you know not, and in houses you would not dream, and among people you would not imagine, soul-searching has doubtless taken place. Men and women who want to love the Lord must have asked themselves if they are among those who in your crucifixion help crucify the Lord afresh. Your gallantry and your faith and God's goodness have staved off violence. In distant lands and on lonely islands men have prayed and pray for you. By your Calvary, Montgomery has become a central item on the prayer agenda of the world. Take heart then, even now, things of which you and I do not dream are taking place through God's Providence and by your commitment.

There is a faith, it is founded in God—that He will bring to pass what He has begun. It is the Faith that no life committed to Him can fall beyond His grasp. The central drama of the Christian faith is the

death of our Lord, the anguished waiting, the glorious denouement on Easter Sunday, the coming forth of the Conquering Lord. Christians believe that the resurrection of the Lord Christ was the reveal of all the world's verdicts, the annulment of all claims of evil, the repudiation of the supposed power of expediency and sin. The coming forth of the reigning Lord represents for Christians the denial of all the charges of injustice, the disavowal of all the libels that wickedness can impose, the vindication of the sanity of the universe. The trumpets at the end of the drama are no longer muted, they blare the coronation, the banners are lifted to full mast. He leads captivity captive and puts to rout the armies of the aliens.

Here we stake our faith. As surely as God lives, His way must triumph. "He will not leave our souls in hell. He who hath begun in us a good work will carry it on until the day of the Lord Jesus." Galling may be our Cross, steep may be our way, long may be our journey, dark may be our night, cold may be our way, hard may be our lot, heavy may be our hearts, sore may be our spirits, slow may be our dawn, but if we are "planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection."

One of our forefathers has written in years now gone the heart of our faith as we struggle for a free America and for our citizenship:

"Harder yet may be the fight, right may often yield to might. Wickedness awhile may reign, Satan's cause may seem to gain. There

is a God that rules above, with hand of power and heart of love.

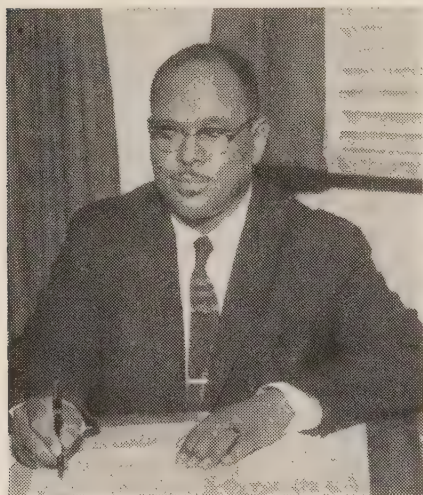
If I am right, He'll fight my battle.

I shall have peace some day."

Concord Baptist Church
Brooklyn, New York

Founder's Day Sermon, Allen University, February 14, 1958

By REV. DR. LUTRELLE G. LONG



REV. DR. LUTRELLE G. LONG

I wish to deliver this sermon as you celebrate 88 years of the life of this institution from this theme: "*Concerning the Immortality of Allen University*," using as a scriptural basis two passages from the Old and New Testament: "*Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set.*" Proverbs 22:28. I have chosen to change the verb used by the author in the New Testament from its past tense and cast it in a present setting: "*I see a new heaven*

and a new earth." Revelation 21:1.

At the very outset, it is easy to think of physical landmarks. Most of us, consciously or unconsciously, have marked in our minds landmarks. It marks a certain spot, or it may be a sense of direction, a means of arriving at a given destination. Few people can give a clear-cut direction even in their home town, but most of them can take you to the given place without reading a single sign. A tree, post, a building is their landmark.

In years past, I used to drive my father over his presiding elder district in Florida. One day I was driving him to the town of his birth, Ocala. As we rode to the top of a hill, he remarked, "Six more miles, and we will be home." I looked for mileage signs, a marker of some kind; there were none. So I asked, "How do you know how far it is?" He answered, "Look up! Straight ahead, there's the water tank standing high above the town. It's six miles from here. I've walked it many times."

I came to know the old landmark in the years following, and it was a great relief to spot the tank, for it seemed to say to a weary driver, "You're almost home."

A few weeks ago, I went back after many years. The hills had been lowered, curves straightened. Expressways had taken the place of the old road. I couldn't find my tank and ran six miles beyond the town. They had taken from view my ancient landmark, and I was lost.

The writer of Proverbs uses this physical expression to imply strongly something deeply spiritual.

I

In nearly every generation, there is the strong urge to tear down some of the markers the fathers have built. But without them and the institutions built by them, we could not exist. And, the eternal erected by them becomes our landmark, and ties together our history and tradition.

The early fathers here in South Carolina were inspired by a Charlestonian. 90 pounds was all he weighed, and he stood a little over four feet in height—Daniel A. Payne, one of the bishops of our Church. Highly eccentric, brilliant, he was always the teacher. He sought to unshackle the chains binding the minds of black boys and girls in America and in the Africas. One day a young man had an interview with Bishop Payne in the Bishop's home. At the appointed time, the young man arrived, was ushered into the living room. He threw his hat in a chair and perched himself on the other side of the room. Bishop Payne came downstairs; upon seeing where the young man had put his hat, he went immediately and sat down on it. The youngster seeing his hat squashed, nearly forgot what he came for, but stumbled through somehow. (He dared to mention it.) When he arose to leave, Bishop Payne ran his hand in his pocket, taking out the price of a new hat, shook it into his young friend's hand and said, "Buy a new hat, and remember from now on, you hang them on hat racks; chairs were made to sit on." His unrestrained zeal inspired the fathers to build here an intellectual landmark.

Allen University is immortal, in that it was never designed to make

part of a man, but a whole man. In those early days, lawyers, doctors, preachers, and teachers were graduated. They are a part of the great panorama making your university immortal. For men and their achievements, not buildings and grounds, important though they are, make an institution great.

Let us pull back the curtain and glance into history. Bishop Arnett's "Quarto Centenary" gives us the factual data.

II

The curtain rises. The stage is Newberry, South Carolina, July 29, 1870. The Columbia District is in session. Bishop John Mifflin Brown is the presiding Bishop These godly men decided to purchase a farm of 150 acres, including buildings in Cokesbury, South Carolina. The committee on purchase consisted of Reverend A. Weston, Chairman; W. D. Harris, Secretary; Joseph Boston, Simon Miller, and Scipio Blake. Cokesbury, South Carolina, was then the Athens of the up country, bearing the name of the distinguished Bishop Coke. This beautiful Sylvan retreat, dedicated to Methodism and learning, was an opportunity for the fathers deprived of intellectual training. These men, black and white, despised paternalism, and were imbued with the sentiment of freedom. The owner of the land was so enthralled, he reduced the price \$100.

The annual conference meeting this same year divided the upper part from the Columbia District, calling it the Abbeville District. Rev. Simon Miller was appointed pre-

siding elder of the latter and showed a dogged determination to maintain a school in the upper country of the state. He won his battle finally and the institute was named for Bishop Daniel A. Payne, apostle of education in our denomination. The men who served as presidents were Professors Porter, Crogman, Scarborough, and Morris.

The unsettled social and political status of the state at this time caused much unrest among the people and hampered the cause of education. Payne Institute was finally dissolved and Allen University emerged. Bishop W. F. Dickerson was assigned to South Carolina following his election in 1880 and set out to build the infant college. The annual conference meeting in Spartanburg elected a board of trustees—Bishop W. F. Dickerson, David Pickett, Bruce H. Williams, Silas H. Jefferson, Montgomery M. Mance, Felix H. Torrence, Paul W. Jefferson, Samuel Washington, A. Thomas Carr, W. M. Thomas, and Hiram Young. These men secured a charter from the state December 24, 1880.

This is the description of the campus you now occupy, including its enlargements: "Allen University was purchased for \$6,000, and is pleasantly and conveniently located in the *suburbs* of Columbia."

"The Charleston News and Courier" of October 8, 1889 devoted a large section of its pages to Allen University in unbiased fashion, speaking of the marked success attending the school. "The Charleston World" through its Columbia correspondent, spoke in no uncertain terms of Allen's place in South Carolina and the marked progress

being made in the training of young men and women. The press generally of the state did likewise. During this era, the university was endorsed by two democratic governors and officers of the state. These immortals seemed to have known that no people will long endure who wallow in ignorance, for ignorance breeds superstition, and superstition lethargy and inaction and Allen University was to them a landmark, putting intellect in the head, and the love and fear of God in the hearts of the Negro youth.

The graduating class of 1889 numbered 75 — the Collegiate Department 12; Law 15, Normal 48. The Normal Department supplied the teachers largely, and this was long before the day of accrediting or approving agencies, state or likewise. These are immortal, and they make many of us look like intellectual dwarfs, when we read their speeches and books.

III

But where do we go from here, "For I see a new Heaven and a new earth." John had been banished to a quarry, a forsaken salt mine, an island called Patmos. He hadn't been as loud and boisterous as Peter, but he was loyal to Jesus; he went all of the way. He could make the Savior smile when none else could. He followed Jesus to Calvary. Jesus loved John so much that he left his mother in his care. He preached the Gospel of salvation; he talked about the Kingdom of God, all men being one.

Because he so believed and preached, he was sent away to die in a quarry, with molded bread and stagnant water to sustain him. The sea barrier separated him from fam-

ily and home. Yet, he had so much faith, so much fortitude, that he could say, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; *and there was no more sea*. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away. And behold he that sat upon the throne said, Behold I make all things new."

The sea represented a barrier in his time—a barrier of distance and time, but standing in this quarry with the sea separating him from home, could say I see a day when there will be no more sea. I see a day when a man traveling by ship can cruise to Europe from America in five days. I see a new day when man will eat breakfast in New York and dinner in Paris, conquering the air barrier. I see a new day when the sea separating the races will no longer exist. I see a day when the barrier of languages will dissolve, and the world will become so small that every language will be spoken and understood, and finally one language, one world, or no world.

I stand here today in the quarry of South Carolina, southern hate and prejudice; here in this quarry of a double standard of education; riding in the rear of a bus, climbing a fire escape to see a good motion picture—money in my pocket, but can't buy a steak downtown when I'm hungry.

But I see a new day, a day when Negro boys and girls will study at the University of South Carolina freely, not because they want to be with white people, but because the

University has what they want to learn.

I see a day when white boys and girls will request entrance at Allen University, not to be with Negroes, but because Allen has something they will want.

I see a day when the anxiety, the sleepless nights of your distinguished President, Dr. Frank R. Veal, in his desire to stand in this quarry for right, will not have been in vain.

I see a day when the Angel of God will erase forever the name of Governor Bill Timmerman and those who believe as he does, and history will drop their names in a bottomless abyss. The screaming cries of Griffin of Georgia, Eastland of Mississippi et al, are but the labor pains caused by freedom and equality aborning in America, its an avalanche from heaven.

I see a day when the students who now worry about teaching certificates will have them anyway because they can pass any examination anywhere. There is no more sea, South Carolina is not your total world.

And all who have passed this way, and those who celebrate 88 years today, and those yet to come, will watch the Angel of THE AGES, write into the sunset with a crayon of fire, "*Allen University Immortal!*"

The Review Book Shelf

(Continued from Page 70)

the Founders, but the fact remains that they were of a "liberality" of spirit which must forever and properly remain a scandal to the rank and file of professing American Christians.

—Wilberforce, Ohio

THE REVIEW'S RECOMMENDED READING

By MISS CLARISSA BROWNLEA

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO By Ina Corrine Brown. This is a Friendship Press publication, and is a valuable addition to Negroana. Even though much has been written about the subject, the author's approach is quite scholarly and refreshing. The size of the book makes it very convenient for a reader to carry it in one's brief case. The information is documented and authenticated. In these days when the eyes of the world are turned toward Africa, and the people of color is quite essential that good books about the Negro be read. \$2.75.

Editor Harry S. Ashmore, Editor of The Arkansas Gazette, born in Greenville, South Carolina, a man with broad military experience, and a graduate from Clemson College, and Harvard University has written a very thought-provoking book under the title: "AN EPITAPH FOR DIXIE."

With courage, objectivity, and forceful logic the author comes to grips with the racial problem which deeply concerns the nation, especially following the Supreme Court Decision in May, 1954. Mr. Ashmore is one of the few souls in the South who face the facts of a changing social order, and points the way out. The crisis at Little Rock is laid at the door of the Governor, who called out troops to defy the national government. This action brought discredit upon the United States the world around where the population is three-fourths non-white, and played into the hands of the Soviet Government of Russia, who in the meantime sent up a "Sputnik." Science knows no color-line.

In referring to the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., the author calls attention to the economic potential of the non-white riders, who held the balance of power. That is why they won. One southern state's representative introduced a bill to remove non-white residents to Northern states. This would have depleted the source of cheap labor. In the long run the white labor supply would be exhausted. Then factories would have no need of removing South for the cheap non-white labor would be at their command, at home. So the way out is education, skilled labor, economic development, and the ballot.

What is taking place in the South is part of a world revolution, and there is no way of stopping it. Complete integration is oncoming.

THE LIFE AND LABORS OF JORDAN WINSTON EARLY, compiled, and Re-published by George A. Singleton. The printing was done by the African Methodist Sunday School Union Press, and is a credit to the denomination. The book is "A thrilling story of the heroic, and self-sacrificing work of an unknown pioneer builder of the Church in the Mid-West, and South, illustrated with rare photographs, and indexed. \$1.75. Place your order to-day: GEORGE A. SINGLETON, 5828 Race Street, Philadelphia 39, Penna.

: With The Poets :

A CREED

There is a destiny that makes us
brothers;
None goes his way alone:
What we send into the lives of others
Comes back into our own.

I care not what his temples or his
creeds,
One thing holds firm and fast—
That into his fateful heap of days
and deeds
The soul of a man is cast.

—Edwin Markham.

TO A PRINCE OF THE CHURCH

The vestments in your church, they
say,
Are rich with dyes and stiff with
gold;
A thousand miner's kids today
Hide in their shanties from the
cold.

That chalice-gift of loving pride—
The gems blaze as you lift it up;
A thousand babies, solemn-eyed,
Click spoons within an empty cup.

So might I sling the sneering stone.
But God will judge both me and
you;

You sin not, nor are judged, alone.
I had two coats; *I still have two.*

—Kenneth W. Porter.

BUILDING

We are building every day
In a good or evil way,
And the structure as it grows
Will our inmost self disclose.
Till in every arch and line
All our faults and failings shine;

It may grow a castle grand,
Or a wreck upon the sand.

Do you ask what building this
That can show both pain and bliss,
That can show both dark and fair?
Lo, its name is Character.

Build it well, whatever you do;
Build it straight and strong and true;
Build it clean and high and broad;
Build it for the eye of God.

Louella D. Everett, Boston, Mass.,
also cited this poem.

I, TOO

I too, sing America.
They send me in the kitchen
When company comes.
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow
I'll sit at the table
When company comes,
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen"
Then.

Besides, they'll see how beautiful
I am
And be ashamed,—

I, too, am America.

—Langston Hughes.

A WONDERFUL MOTHER

God made a wonderful mother,
A mother who never grows old;
He made her smile of the sunshine,
And He molded her heart of pure
gold;
In her eyes He placed bright shining
stars,

In her cheeks, fair roses you see;
 God made a wonderful mother,
 And He gave that dear mother to me.
 —Pat O'Reily.

"UNTIL IT IS SETTLED RIGHT"

However the battle is ended.

Though proudly the victor comes
 With fluttering flags and prancing
 nags

And echoing roll of drums;
 Still truth proclaims her motto
 In letters of living light—
 No question is ever settled
 Until it is settled right.

Though the heel of the strong op-
 pressor

May grind the weak in the dust,

And the voice of fame with one ac-
 claim

May call him great and just;
 Let those who applaud take warning
 And keep this motto in sight—
 No question is ever settled
 Until it is settled right.

Let those who have faith take cour-
 age,

Though the enemy seems to have
 won;

Though his ranks are strong, if he
 be in the wrong

The battle is not yet done;
 For sure as the morning follows

The darkest hour of the night,
 No question is ever settled
 Until it is settled right.

—Wilcox.

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I feel most deeply that this whole question of Creation is too profound for human intellect. A dog might as well speculate on the mind of Newton! Let each man hope and believe what he can.

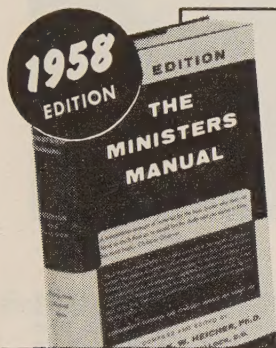
—Charles Darwin

Ignorance is the night of the mind,
but a night without moon or star.

—Confucius

Point thy tongue on the anvil of
truth.

—Pindar



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I have experienced and observed changes and adjustments that have carried us through much darker periods. My faith in America, and the vision of those who formulate the policies upon which we operate will not let me believe that our economy will ever again plunge to the depths of that financial fiasco experienced by us in the 30's. We have all learned that "carrying on" is better than "digging out."

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The Negro

It is a good thing that the guard around the tomb of Lincoln should be composed of Colored soldiers. It was my own good fortune at Santiago to serve beside Colored troops. A man who is good enough to shed his blood for the country is good enough to be given a square deal afterward. More than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man should have. (1903)

I have not been able to think out any solution to the terrible problem offered by the presence of the Negro on this continent, but of one thing I am sure, and that is that * * * the only wise and honorable and Christian thing to do is to treat each Black Man, and each White Man strictly on his merits as a man, giving him no more and no less than he shows himself worthy to have. I say I am "sure" that this is the right solution. Of course I know that we see through a glass dimly, and, after all, it may be that I am wrong; but if I am, then all my thoughts and beliefs are wrong, and my whole way of looking at life is wrong. At any rate, while I am in public life, however short a time that may be, I am in honor bound to act up to my beliefs and convictions. I do not intend to offend the prejudices of anyone else, but neither do allow their prejudices to make me false to my principles. (1901)

To me, the question of doing away with all race and religious bigotry in this country is the most important of all. (1904)

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.